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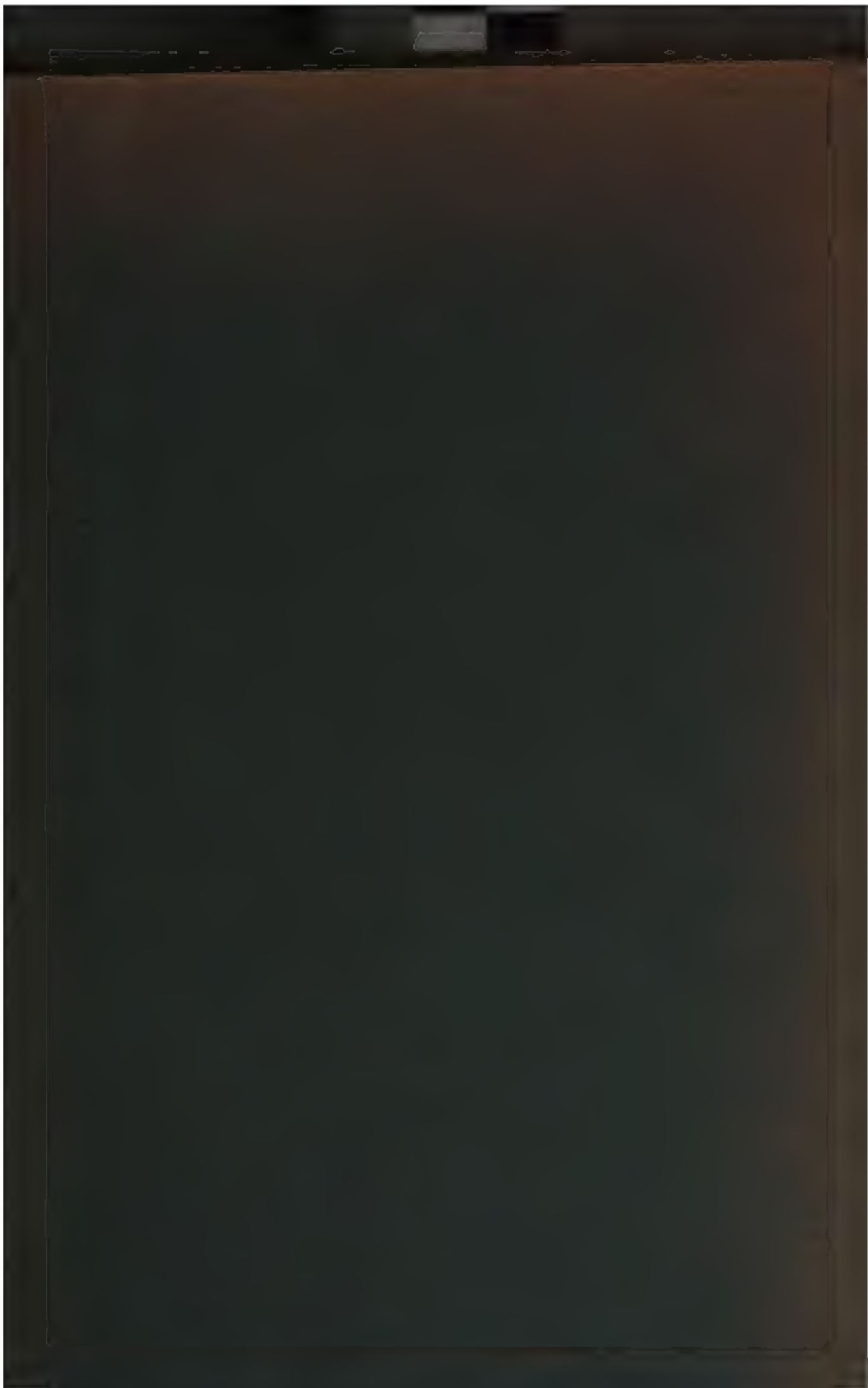
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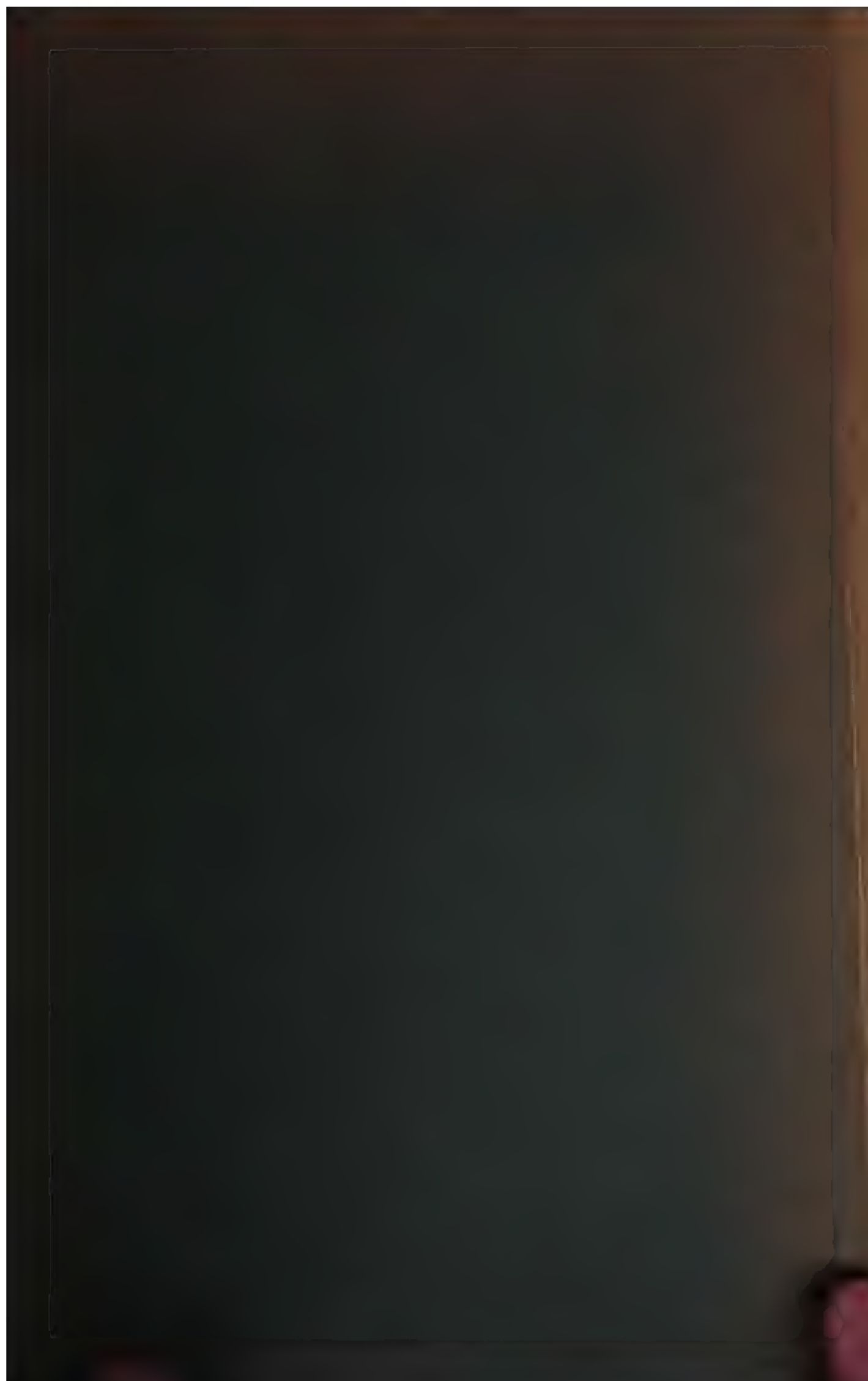
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LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY











THE  
DUBLIN REVIEW.

VOL. CX.

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JANUARY—APRIL, 1892.

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LONDON:

BURNS & OATES LIMITED. J. DONOVAN, 19, HENRIETTA STREET, W.C.

DUBLIN: M. H. GILL & SON.

NEW YORK: CATHOLIC PUBLICATION SOCIETY CO., 12, EAST SEVENTEENTH ST.

184687

YMA 8881 080719472



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THE  
DUBLIN REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1892.

ENGLAND'S DEVOTION TO ST. PETER  
DURING A THOUSAND YEARS.\*

I.—PURPORT OF THIS PAPER.

THE extraordinary devotion of England, during the long period of a thousand years, to Blessed Peter, the prince of the Apostles, may be said to have a scientific and historical interest. It must enter largely, in some centuries very largely, into any faithful portraiture of the mind and character of our forefathers. It is a subject, therefore, that concerns the scientific student of history, and, in these days of the re-writing of history, it will not fail to obtain proper recognition, and to find its appropriate place.

No saint ever entered more deeply into the life of a nation than St. Peter into the life of our English forefathers from the sixth century onward. His singular prerogatives, his touching character, his watchful love for his children were seen by our ancestors to be as so many living realities, which took their place in moulding and elevating the thoughts, the desires, the life of the nation.

No one can say that the devotion of our forefathers to St. Peter was the outcome of mediæval ignorance, or a parasitical overgrowth of latter times upon the English Church, which it was the business of the Reformation to destroy. On the contrary, it sprang up in the first fervour of the conversion of

\* A summary of this paper has been published by the Catholic Truth Society.  
[Vol. I. of Fourth Series.]

England, and was strongest and most conspicuous in the earliest, or what some would call the purest, period of the English Church.

Three reasons urge us to examine this ancient and traditional devotion of the English people. One is because, during the last three centuries they have been blaspheming what their ancestors had dearly loved and revered for a thousand years. The religious contrast between the visible present and the invisible past can be perceived only by drawing out the true features of the historical past.

Another reason is, because it is assuredly desirable to contribute whatever we can to the unprecedented movement going on within the Protestant Church of England as by law established. That movement is one of return to the Catholic Church. Everyone beholds it. Within the Church of England there are now confraternities praying even for the grace of submission to the See of Peter. It is said on good authority that a Prime Minister warned the late Archbishop Tait, who was about to make an effort to stem the movement, that far from so doing he should make room for it, because it had become irresistible. The present Archbishop of Canterbury's restless endeavours to persuade himself and other English Protestants that their Established Church is in direct continuity of life and doctrine with the Catholic Church, which flourished in England for a thousand years, are visible steps in this certain, but unconfessed, return towards the centre of unity. It is a growth within the Establishment, not a pressure from without. It reminds one of Edward the Confessor's dream or prophecy, viz., that "the part cut off from the green tree and carried the space of three acres from the trunk shall, *without external assistance*, become again united to the stem, bud out with flowers and stretch forth its fruit as before, from the sap again uniting." And one remembers the words—with the hope that they were prophetic—said to have been spoken by St. Peter in a vision to St. Brithwold, "The kingdom of the English is the kingdom of God." It is right then to invite our Anglican friends to turn their attention to St. Peter's place in the history of the English Church. So far as they are honest in their new-found *dogma of continuity*, they will be certainly led to embrace

the doctrine of continuity in unity between the Head and the members, as manifested in the faith and devotion of the English Church for well nigh a thousand years.

The third reason for studying the ancient national devotion to St. Peter is, because the persecution of the last three hundred years, and all its sad consequences, have robbed its survivors of much of that cheerful, manifest, confident, and loving personal devotion to St. Peter, which seemed to be a special heritage of old Catholic England. It will take but little to revive the outward manifestation of the traditional love which is still cherished in faithful hearts. The flame of personal devotion to the Saint will readily burst forth again from that sterling obedience to the See of Peter, which has been the religious stay of Catholic fidelity in England during the past centuries of trial and suffering.

Nor was there ever a time when a downright hearty devotion to the person of St. Peter was more needed by Catholics than now. Fidelity to the See of Peter, obedience and loyalty to his successor are essential to our Catholic life. And this fidelity and obedience are continually brought to the test, in these days of religious indifference and worldly allurements, in every walk of life. Catholics who find themselves engaged in the world of trade and commerce, in the world of science and criticism, in the world of speculation and literature, in the world of politics and of social reform, are bound to keep their mind and conduct in harmony with the teaching and guidance of the Church. This is no such easy matter in the midst of a world that is casting everything into a seething cauldron of doubt, and pretending to reach all the first elements of truth, human and divine, by the unaided light of reason. Fidelity and obedience to the See of Peter form the Catholic's touchstone of safety wherever he may be. This fidelity and obedience will be wonderfully promoted by a strong, reasonable, and hearty devotion to the person of St. Peter, such as characterised the people of these northern isles for over a thousand years. We claim, then, from the Catholics of England, quite a special love and loyalty for Blessed Peter. Let us see if the claim be justified, on appeal to the history of the English Church.



## II.—THREE UNIVERSAL SAINTS.

Three persons stood to Christ in an exceptional position of nearness and love. MARY and JOSEPH, His parents; and PETER, whom He identified with Himself as the Rock and the Shepherd, in the constitution and government of His Church.

We, His brethren by adoption, and the members of His Church, have also contracted relationships with these three persons, which are unique in kind and character.

Our forefathers gloried in being Mary's children, and they called England "*Our Lady's Dowry*."\* But they understood full well that it was, not to Mary, but to Peter, that the government of the Church was confided. They realised that while the Lord committed us to the tenderest love of His own sweet Mother, He reserved to Himself our teaching and guidance, when He chose out Peter from among all men to be, not His successor, but His Vicar, to teach and confirm us in His Name.

## III.—SOLEMNITY OF THE RITE CREATING PETER'S SUPREMACY.

Before entering upon the subject of the devotional relations which grew up between Blessed Peter and England, it may be worth while to call attention to the wonderful ceremonial which our Lord was pleased to adopt in raising Peter to the high position of a fellowship with Himself in the supreme government of the Church. In vain shall we look through the Old or New Testament for a parallel to the solemnity of this rite taken as a whole, whether we consider the number of steps and interstices by which it proceeded, or the significant fact that it covered the whole length of our Lord's Public ministry.

Christ did not raise Peter to the great height of the Supremacy by a sudden or by a single act of His Divine authority. The creation of the Supremacy bore a due proportion to the creation of the Body, over which Peter was

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\* For England's devotion to the Blessed Virgin all should read Father Bridgett's incomparable book, "*Our Lady's Dowry*." See also the folio volume entitled *Divi Tutelares Orbis Christiani*, by Antonio Macedo S.J. 1687

to become the Ruler. The two creations went on, so to speak, *pari passu*, from the commencement of the Public Ministry to the eve of the Ascension.

Let us sketch an outline of the Divine ceremonial.

It began in the first days of the first year of the Public Ministry. Peter came into the presence of Christ, and "Jesus *looking upon him* said: Thou art Simon, the son of Jona: *thou shalt be called Cephas*, which is interpreted Peter." (St. John i. 42.) This is the whole, brief but pregnant, record of that first meeting. The act of "Jesus *looking upon him*," was sacramental, as when He afterwards "*breathed*" upon His Apostles. Here is the formal and public announcement of a promise that, at the proper time, Christ will change the name of this man, whom He had chosen to be the head of the New Dispensation, as, at the beginning of the Old, He had changed the name of Abram to one signifying the office he was to bear.

The year following, about the Feast of Pentecost, our Lord solemnly fulfilled the recorded promise. It was at Cæsarea Philippi, upon the occasion of the Apostle's confession of His Divinity, that He pronounced these words: "And I say to thee that *thou art Peter*," and then He went on to publish a further promise: "And upon this Rock I *will build* My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I *will give to thee* the keys of the kingdom of heaven, &c." (St. Matt. xvi.)

Another interstice followed, and then our Lord, choosing the sacred moment which intervened between the Last Supper and the Passion, once more in the presence of the Apostles resumed the solemn rite whereby He was preparing for His own departure, by creating a Prince, a King, a Vicar to take His place. Turning to the body of the Apostles He said: "Satan hath desired to have you that he might sift you as wheat," and then, turning to Peter, He went on to say: "But I have prayed for thee that *thy faith* fail not, and thou being once converted, confirm thy brethren." (St. Luke xxii. 31, 2.) And He went forth to His Passion.

And now there remained but the last act of the solemn rite which was to complete the creation of the Papal Supremacy. It was to take place *after His death and Resurrection*, almost



on the eve of the Ascension. It was to take place near the spot where it had commenced, on the coast of the sea of Galilee.

The Lord had prepared for this final ceremony, by something of unwonted care to secure the presence of His Apostles and His appointed witnesses. They had been told repeatedly to meet Him in Galilee. Before His Passion He had said to them: "After I have risen again I will go before you into Galilee."\* On Easter morn the Angel warned the Maries: "Behold He will go before you into Galilee; there you shall see Him."† And again: "Go, tell His disciples and *Peter* that he goeth before you into Galilee."‡ And Jesus Himself repeated the injunction, as though this were now the uppermost thought in His mind: "Go tell My brethren that they go into Galilee; there they shall see Me."§

And now behold them assembled in Galilee. The Shepherd-King is about publicly to commit the care of His entire flock to that one man whom He had *looked upon* and chosen three years before in preparation for this solemn event.

The history of this last event stands out with exceptional prominence in the Sacred Text. St. John had written his Gospel to prove that Christ was God, and the proof was completed in twenty chapters, with the confession of his Master's Divinity by the Apostle Thomas: "My Lord and my God!" The task was done. The evangelist sums up his Gospel in two verses more, and it is closed.—But no, he has yet another Gospel to write, the Gospel of Peter's Jurisdiction, the Gospel of the Papal Supremacy. He had proved that Christ was God; he must now show that Christ had left behind Him, not a successor, but a Vicar, a Representative, a Visible Head over the whole flock, over the whole Church which He had created in His blood. Read this 21st chapter and examine it well. You will note:—

1. The similarity in order of procedure, of preparation and of charitable condescension to the minds of men, which marks the Sixth Chapter, wherein the Lord treated of that other mystery, the Blessed Eucharist. The creation of the two

\* St. Matt. xxvi.

† St. Matt. xxvii.

‡ St. Mark xvi.

§ St. Matt. xxviii.

Institutions, that of the Real Presence and that of the Supremacy, seemed to require a greater care, as they were to make a greater demand upon the mind and heart of man.

2. We are struck by the fact that the Divine Commission is bound up with most tender appeal to love and devotedness. God founded the Church in love, Christ loved the Church as His own flesh. He had *prayed* before His Passion for its unity, and He now makes formal *provision* for that unity, until the end of time. He places the whole under one. Thrice the Lord said to Peter, "Peter, lovest thou Me?" And then because Christ knew that he loved Him, He committed to him the care and the feeding of His lambs and of His sheep. "Feed My lambs, feed My sheep." Thus the great work was finally completed, completed in power and in love, completed amid the tears and perhaps broken-hearted sobs of Peter, completed in the sight of witnesses—Apostles and Disciples—in Galilee.

3. The remainder of the Chapter is all personal to Peter: it narrates the prediction that he shall grow old in his Office, and be finally, like his Master, bound as a malefactor, led in procession, and at last crucified. So it came to pass Peter grew old in labours, was cast into the Mamertine dungeon, was bound, scourged, led through the city as a criminal, crucified with head downwards, and buried within a hundred yards of the place of his execution, outside the gate—not of Jerusalem, but of Rome. And down to the present day the dust of his bones draws like a magnet to itself the whole Christian world. Of him also, as of his Master, it may be said: "And his sepulchre shall be glorious."

#### IV.—ITS ACCEPTANCE BY THE CHURCH

The Church at once recognised the Headship constituted by its Divine Founder. Without burdening ourselves with long quotations, let three witnesses be cited.

St. Cyprian, A.D. 284: "There is but one Church founded by Christ on *Peter*." (*Ep.* 70.)

St. Ambrose, A.D. 385: "Where *Peter* is there is the Church and eternal life." (*in Ps.* 40.)

St. Leo, A.D. 440: "Out of the whole world *Peter alone* is chosen, and is set over the vocation of all nations and over all the Apostles and all the Fathers of the Church. *Peter* in his own person rules all whom Christ rules as Head. A great and marvellous fellowship in its power has God conferred upon this man."<sup>\*</sup>

And again:

"Who can be so ignorant and so jealous of the glory of Blessed *Peter* as to believe that there is any part of the Church which is not ruled by his solicitude and enlarged by his help? That love of the Prince of the Apostles for God and for man, which neither the confinement of a prison, nor chains, nor popular violence, nor the threats of kings could overcome, is assuredly still vigorous and alive throughout the Church."—*(Serm 83.)*

The Church has ever considered St. Peter as continuing through all time to preside over the entire Church. As St. Boniface wrote in the fifth century: "The Blessed Apostle *Peter* looks on you with his own eyes, nor can he who received charge of all fail to be near to all.\*" Peter, then, is ever living in his See, and his voice is heard to-day through Leo, as yesterday through Pius, and the day before through Gregory, up the long pathway of the Christian era.

#### V.—DOCTRINE HELD BY THE EARLY ENGLISH CHURCH.

The faith received by the English people in the sixth and seventh centuries was identical with the Catholic and Roman faith that had been taught throughout the world. The Supremacy of Peter, and obedience to his See, were everywhere regarded as fundamental doctrines of salvation.

Let our two earliest English writers, St. Aldhelm and Venerable Bede, briefly bear their authentic witness to the doctrine of the English Church, before we enter on the main subject of this paper.

And first, St. Aldhelm, whom Bede described as "most learned." In 692 the English having discussed in Synod whether the Welsh in Devon and Cornwall were to be compelled

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\* *Serm iv. cap. 2, in anni ejusd. Assumpt.*



by force to conform to the discipline of the Roman Church in the matter of the date for Easter and the form of the tonsure, it was decided that persuasion, and not force, should be used; and St. Aldhelm was commissioned to attempt the difficult task of convincing these ancient Britons. He at once appealed to them to yield, out of respect for the authority of St. Peter, treating the Supremacy of Peter as a doctrine acknowledged by all and as a crowning argument.

"Who," he said, "can expect to be joyfully greeted at the gate of heaven and to obtain admittance, if he despise the regulations of Peter's Church and take no account of his teaching? And if Peter, by happy lot and peculiar privilege, received the power of binding and the sovereignty of loosening in heaven and on earth, who will not find himself bound inextricably in fetters rather than mercifully released, if he refuse to receive the rule of the Roman Easter and the Roman tonsure?"

And he winds up his address thus:

"To conclude all in one short sentence: foolishly and vainly does he boast of holding the Catholic Faith, if he follow not the teaching (dogma) and the ruling of St. Peter. For the foundation of the Church and the solidity of the faith, reposing first on Christ then on Peter, cannot be shaken by the most violent storms and tempests; so the Apostle declares (1 Cor. iii. 2), *for other foundation no man can lay, but that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus*. But in Peter, the truth irrevocably established the prerogative of the Church in these words: 'Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build My Church.' " (St. Matt. xvi.)\*

The other early English witness to the supreme authority of Peter is Bede. Commenting on the 16th chapter of St. Matthew, which speaks of the power and authority of Blessed Peter, Bede premises his remarks by warning his readers that what follows should be the more attentively considered and borne in the more constant remembrance, because it sets forth the great perfection of divine faith, and furnishes most important strength to overcome temptations against this great virtue.

"Wherefore," he writes, "Blessed Peter, who confessed Christ with true faith and followed Him with true love, received in a special way the keys

\*Letter to Geraint, King of the Welsh or Britons of Devon and Cornwall by St. Aldhelm or Ealdhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury 675-706; first Bishop of Sherborn 706-709.

of the kingdom of heaven and the *sovereignty* of judicial power in the Church ; to the end that *all the faithful* throughout the world might know that, whosoever shall separate himself from *the unity of Peter's faith* and from *Peter's fellowship*, can neither obtain absolution from the bonds of sin, nor admission through the gates of the heavenly kingdom. Hence it is necessary to learn with great care the sacred *doctrines of the faith which Peter taught*, and to show forth good works corresponding to that faith."\*

#### VI.—ENGLISH DEVOTION TO PETER BASED ON DOCTRINE.

It was not, therefore, upon mere sentiment or accident or personal attraction, but upon the solid basis of revealed Catholic doctrine, upon the undisputed fact that Christ had chosen Peter to be His Vicar and *alter ego*, that our forefathers built up the national devotion to St. Peter—a devotion for which they became conspicuous among the nations of Europe. To England belongs the honourable pre-eminence in the Church, that as she was most singularly devout to St. Peter during her religious prosperity, so did she prove herself in the time of adversity to be more fruitful than any other nation in the number and heroism of her martyrs for Peter's Supremacy. At the Reformation it was the authority of St. Peter that formed the main object of attack. The attack was met by a multitude of English men and women of every rank and degree, who poured out their life's blood in defence of the Supremacy. The cause of no less than 315 of these martyrs is now before the Holy See for canonization.

We purposely omit, in this place, all consideration of the numberless instances of Papal jurisdiction, exercised over the Sovereigns, Bishops, and people of England, from the sixth to the sixteenth century, *in the name of Peter*—of the national synods convoked and presided over *in Peter's name*,—of the creation of Sees, of the use of Papal provisions and all other acts of jurisdiction performed in England by the authority of Blessed *Peter*. The present object is simply to illustrate the devotion of the English people to St. Peter, by such facts as these:—That they delighted to call their most glorious churches after his name. that they were continually on pilgrimage to Rome in order to pray at his shrine and to venerate his Successor,

\* *Bede's Works.* Hom. 27, Giles' Ed.

that they opened a school close to the tomb of the Apostle, the better to secure for England the purity of Peter's faith; that they taxed every inhabited house in the land to pay an annual tribute—which they considered to be rightly due—to Blessed Peter, that they made to him bequests of land and property; that they founded guilds in his name, with prayers and functions and feasts in his honour, that his name was constantly on their lips, and that the thought of his power and influence penetrated their literature, their habits and conversation. Many were the graces and miracles which experience had taught our forefathers to attribute to Peter's powerful intercession. He was formally chosen as their special Patron and Protector by the Sovereigns of England. Kings, Bishops, and people gloried in their close communion with his See, and felt that while they honoured and obeyed his Successor they were honouring and obeying Peter himself.

## VII.—PROOFS OF THE DEVOTION OF ENGLAND TO ST. PETER.

### I.—*Dedication of Churches to Blessed Peter*

The first great Abbatial Church of Canterbury was dedicated to St. Peter. To him are dedicated England's two most famous Minsters. Westminster, where the Sovereigns of England are crowned, and the Metropolitan Church of York. For a considerable period all the churches in Northumbria were dedicated to St. Peter. After a time England became, as it were, girdled by stately fanes bearing Peter's name. Begin with Bamborough in the North, and travel round England, and you will pass great cathedrals, noble abbatial or conventual churches reared to St. Peter's honour in Lindisfarne, Wearmouth, Whitby, Ripon, and York, in Bardney, Peterborough, and Ely; in Westminster, Canterbury, Selsey and Chichester, Winchester, Exeter, Bath, Coventry, Worcester, Gloucester, and Llandaff. No less than 13 magnificent Cathedrals and Abbatial churches dedicated to St. Peter, sent their Lords to Parliament.



The following is a list of the 19 old English COLLEGIATE CHURCHES dedicated in honour of *St. Peter*.\*

- CAMBRIDGE, Peter House, the oldest Cambridge College.  
 CHICHESTER, Cathedral Church. The See transferred hither from Selsey.  
 EXETER, Cathedral Church, first served by monks O.S.B., then by Secular Canons.  
 HEYTESBURY, Collegiate Church (Wilts.)  
 HOWDEN, Collegiate Church (Yorks.)  
 WELLINGBOROUGH, Collegiate Church (Northamp.)  
 LINGFIELD, Collegiate Church (Surrey).  
 LLANDAFF, Cathedral Church.  
 LONDON, St. Peter's College of Petty Canons in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul.  
 LONDON, Collegiate Church or Royal Chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula in the Tower, without the city boundary.  
 OXFORD, Magdalen College.  
 RIPON, Collegiate Church (Yorks.) Monks O.S.B. replaced by Secular Canons.  
 RUTHVYN, Collegiate Church (Denbigh).  
 SELSEY, Cathedral Church (Sussex). The See translated to Chichester.  
 SIBTHORP, Collegiate Church (Notts.)  
 TATTERSALL, Collegiate Church (Lincolnshire).  
 TIVERTON,† Prebendal Church (Devon).  
 WOLVERHAMPTON, Collegiate Church and Royal Free Chapel (Staffordshire).  
 YORK, Cathedral and Metropolitan Church.

The following is a list of the 60 old English CONVENTUAL Churches dedicated in honour of *St. Peter*:—

- ABBOTSBURY (Dorset), Benedictine Abbey.  
 ATHELNEY (Somersetshire), Benedictine Abbey.

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\* These lists have been prepared by a kind friend, to whom the writer is indebted for many items of information and for much trouble taken to verify statements of fact. He has also prepared a catalogue of all the old Churches and Chapels dedicated to *St. Peter*, which we hope to print at the conclusion of these articles.

† Tiverton was not in strictness a Collegiate, but a Portionary or Prebendal, Church.

- BARDNEY (Linc.), Benedictine mitred and exempt Abbey.  
 BATH (Somers.), Benedictine Abbey, afterwards Cathedral Priory.  
 BOURNE (Linc.), Austin Canons' Abbey.  
 BREDON (Warwickshire), Benedictine Monastery.  
 BRINKBURN (Northumb.), Austin Canons' Priory.  
 CANTERBURY, Benedictine mitred and exempt Abbey.  
 CARBROKE (Norfolk), Nuns' Priory.  
 CASTLEACRE (Norfolk), Cluniac Priory.  
 CERNE (Dorset.), Benedictine Abbey.  
 CHACOMBE (Northamp.), Austin Canons' Priory.  
 CHERTNEY (Surrey), Benedictine Abbey.  
 CHESTER, the Nuns' Minster, afterwards the Monks' Abbey of St. Werburgh.  
 CHICH or ST. OSYTH'S (Essex), Austin Canons' Abbey.  
 CHICHESTER, Nuns. The site was afterwards occupied by the Cathedral Church.  
 COVENTRY, Benedictine Abbey, afterwards Cathedral Priory.  
 CRANHOUSE (Norfolk), Fontevrault Nuns' Priory.  
 DORCHESTER (Oxon.) Austin Canons' Abbey.  
 ELY, Benedictine Abbey, afterwards Cathedral Priory.  
 EYE (Suff), Cell of a Benedictine Abbey in Normandy.  
 FOLKESTONE (Kent), Nunnery, swallowed up by the sea. It had been destroyed by Danes, according to a charter of Æthelstan.  
 FORDHAM (Cambr.), Cell of the Gilbertine Canons' Priory of Sempringham.  
 GLOUCESTER, Benedictine Mitred Abbey.  
 HACKNESS (Yorks), Cell of the Benedictine Abbey of Whitby.  
 HARWOOD (Beds), Austin Canons' Priory.  
 HEREFORD, Cell of Benedictine Abbey of Glo'ster.  
 HORKESLEY, LITTLE (Essex), Cell of the Cluniac Priory, of Thetford.  
 HUMBERSTONE (Linc.), Benedictine Priory.  
 HYDE, see Winchester.  
 IPSWICH (Suff.), Austin Canons' Priory.  
 KEYNSHAM (Som.), Austin Canons' Abbey.  
 KIRBY BELLERS (Leic.), Austin Canons' Priory.  
 LEOMINSTER (Heref.), Benedictine Abbey, destroyed by Danes.

LINDISFARNE (Northumb.), Culdee Abbey and Episcopal See, afterwards a Cell of Durham Benedictine Cathedral Priory.

MALMESBURY (Wilts.), Benedictine Mitred Abbey.

MARKBY (Linc.), Austin Canons' Priory.

MERSEY (Essex), Cell of St. Ouen's Benedictine Abbey at Rouen.

MONTACUTE (Som.), Cluniac Priory.

MUCHELNEY (Som.), Benedictine Abbey.

PERSHORE (Worc.), Benedictine Abbey.

PETERBOROUGH (Northamp.), Benedictine Mitred Abbey.

PETERSTONE (Norf.), Austin Canons' Priory, then a Cell of Walsingham.

PLYMPTON (Dev.), Austin Canons' Priory.

SELE (Sussex), Cell of a Benedictine Abbey in Anjou.

SHERBORNE (Dors.), Benedictine Mitred Abbey.

SHREWSBURY (Salop), Benedictine Mitred Abbey.

TAUNTON (Som.), Austin Canons' Priory.

THURGARTON (Notts.), Austin Canons' Priory.

TITLEY (Heref.), Cell of the Benedictine Abbey of Tiron in Perche.

WANGFORD (Suff), another Cluniac Cell of Thetford.

WAREHAM (Dorset), Cell of a Benedictine Abbey in the Orléanais.

WESTMINSTER, near London, Benedictine Mitred and Exempt Abbey.

WHERWELL (Hants.), Benedictine Nuns' Abbey.

WEARMOUTH (Durham), Benedictine Abbey, then Cell of Durham.

WHITBY (Yorks.), Benedictine Abbey.

WINCHESTER OLD MINSTER, Benedictine Cathedral Priory.

WINCHESTER NEW MINSTER, Benedictine Abbey, afterwards removed to Hyde, beyond the city walls.

WIRRAL-ON-THE-HILL (Som.), Nuns' Priory.

WORCESTER, Benedictine Cathedral Priory.

WOTTON-WAWEN (Warw.),<sup>1</sup> Cell of a Benedictine Abbey in Normandy.

After this come St. Peter's parish Churches. They were to be found in St. Albans, Bedford, Bolton-le-Moors, Bristol, Cambridge, Canterbury, Chester, Colchester, Derby, Dorchester,

Dover, Droitwich, Hereford, Huntingdon, Ipswich, Leicester, Leeds, Lewes, Maldon, Marlborough, Northampton, Nottingham, Shaftesbury, Sheffield, Stamford, Wallingford, Worcester, and elsewhere.

Sometimes it seemed impossible to satisfy devotion by dedicating one church in a town to St. Peter, but several must bear his name. Thus we have *seven* Peter churches in the City of Lincoln alone: St. Peter at Arches; St. Peter Eastgate; St. Peter at Gowts; St. Peter by the Pump; St. Peter Fish-market; St. Peter beyond the Bar; St. Peter Broadgate.

London and Middlesex had seven Peter churches, or *eight*, if we reckon in St. Peter's College of Petty Canons; St. Peter Cheap, St. Peter Cornhill; St. Peter the Little; St. Peter the Poor; St. Peter *ad vincula*, or St. Peter Tower; Westminster Abbey Church, and St. Peter's, Harlington.

In the City of York there were, besides the Minster, St. Peter-the-less, St. Peter-le-Willows, and St. Peter's College of Vicars Choral, within the Minster close.

The City of Norwich had St. Peter Hungate, St. Peter Southgate, St. Peter Mountergate, and St. Peter Mancroft.

Winchester abounded in Peter Churches. Besides the Old Minster and the New Minster, there were St. Peter Colebrook, St. Peter in the Shambles†, St. Peter Whitbred, and St. Peter Chershill, or St. Peter in the Soke.

By the 16th century the number of St. Peter's churches and chapels very considerably exceeded a thousand. We know of 1105 that were dedicated to him; the number may have been much larger, for there are many ancient chapels, over 30 for instance in Lancashire, whose dedications have been lost.

Of course, some of the churches dedicated to St. Peter were also dedicated to his companion St. Paul or to some local saint, such as to St. Hilda, who for local reasons outshone him at Whitby, as St. Etheldreda did at Ely, St. Aldhelm at Malmesbury, St. Swithin at Winchester.

\* The present Catholic Church of St. Peter, built by Bishop Milner, occupies the site of St. Peter in the Shambles.



The following lists of Peter churches, made out according to dioceses and to counties, may be of interest:—

*Churches and Chapels of St. Peter, as included in the several Dioceses.*

Canterbury .....	*43	Winchester.....	+55
Bath and Wells .....	43	Worcester. ....	66
Chichester .....	26	St. David's .....	17
Coventry and Lichfield ...	66	St. Asaph.....	4
Ely .....	21	Bangor.....	10
Exeter .....	48	Llandaff .....	12
Hereford .....	36	York.....	87
Lincoln.....	271	Carlisle.....	4
London .....	42	Durham .....	+12
Norwich .....	164		
Rochester.....	19	Total .....	1105
Salisbury .....	59		

*Churches and Chapels of St. Peter, as included in the several Counties.*

ENGLAND.

Lincoln... ..	95	Surrey .....	20
Norfolk .....	92	Dorset .. ..	18
Suffolk .....	73	Buckingham .....	17
York.....	62	Stafford .....	15
Kent.....	58	Bedford .....	13
Northampton .....	57	Derby .....	13
Devon .....	47	Berks. ....	11
Somerset .....	42	Hertford .....	11
Leicester .....	40	Rutland .....	11
Essex .....	33	Huntingdon.....	10
Gloucester .....	33	Chester.....	8
Hants. ....	32	Middlesex.....	7
Wilts. ....	30	Lancaster.....	6

\* Including eight peculiars situated in other dioceses. The churches of Calais, Quines, the adjoining parts of Picardy, have not been included under Canterbury, though, indeed, they were as much under, or in that diocese, as Jersey and Guernsey were under Winchester.

+ Including three churches of the Channel Isles.

‡ Including two peculiars situated in Yorkshire



## ENGLAND.—(Continued.)

Hereford .....	27	Northumberland .....	6
Oxford .....	27	Cumberland .....	4
Sussex .....	27	Durham .....	4
Warwick .....	27	Westmorland .....	2
Cambridge .....	23	Cornwall .....	1
Nottingham .....	23		
Worcester .....	23	Total for England ...	1064
Salop .....	22		

## WALES.

Monmouth .....	10	Denbigh .....	2
Pembroke .....	5	Merioneth .....	2
Anglesey .....	3	Montgomery .....	2
Brecon .....	3	Cardigan .....	1
Carnarvon .....	3	Flint .....	1
Glamorgan .....	3	Radnor .....	1
Carmarthen .....	2		
		Total for Wales .....	38

## CHANNEL ISLES.

Guernsey .....	2	Jersey .....	1
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## Summary of Peter Churches:—

Channel Isles .....	3
Wales .....	38
In England .....	1064

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Great Total 1105

These lists are necessarily incomplete, as no doubt many old Peter Churches and Chapels passed away, during so many centuries, without a record.

The chantries of St. Peter might well be added to the above lists, for they possessed their own independent foundation and administration, and witnessed as eloquently as the Church to popular devotion.

## 2.—PILGRIMAGES TO ST. PETER'S SHRINE.

Another evidence of the faith and devotion of the English people to St. Peter is to be found in their continual pilgrimages to the Tomb, or Confession as it is called, of this Apostle and to the sacred person of his Successor in Rome.

Bede and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* furnish us with the earliest records of this devotion, which, happily, has never died out among us.

Bede tells us that Oswy, King of Northumbria—after he had settled at Whitby, A.D. 664, the disciplinary differences which divided the Scots and the English by an appeal to the authority of St. Peter, in the 58th year of his age,—"bore so great an affection for the Roman and Apostolic See that, had he recovered of his sickness, he had designed to go to Rome and there to end his days, close to the Holy Places."\* Death, however, anticipated the fulfilment of his desire.

The first of the Royal pilgrims from England to Rome was Ceadwalla. Sprung of a regal race, he proved himself a daring and successful conqueror. He began by subduing the under-Kings of the West Saxons, becoming King of Wessex. He then laid waste Kent, and annexed the South Saxons to the kingdom of Wessex. He invaded the Isle of Wight, "which till then was entirely given over to idolatry," and cruelly slaughtered the Jutes who peopled that island as well as parts of the opposite coast. It may have been at Winchester, the capital of his kingdom, that he made the acquaintance of St. Wilfrid. Touched and captivated by the conversation and joyous character of Wilfrid, Ceadwalla, though he had not yet embraced Christianity, made over to the saint part of the Isle of Wight; and thus it came to pass that, with the evangelisation of the Isle of Wight, the conversion of England from idolatry was completed by St. Wilfrid, through Ceadwalla, about ninety years after the landing of St. Augustine. Through the influence of St. Wilfrid the King conceived a profound reverence for the Catholic religion and an unbounded affection for St. Peter and St. Peter's chair. He began to realise that he had discovered the existence of a kingdom far better worth striving after than

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\* *Bede's Hist.*, b. iv, c. 5.

any territory of Jutes or Saxons. He determined to embrace the faith of Peter, and ennobling his impulses and bending all his energies in a new direction, he speedily resolved to consecrate himself wholly to his Divine Master, and to betake himself to Rome, the fountain-head of Christianity, there to seek baptism and admission into the one-fold of salvation from the Blessed Successor of St. Peter. In the words, then, of Venerable Bede —

Having most vigorously governed his nation two years, he quitted his crown for the sake of Our Lord and His everlasting kingdom, and went to Rome, being desirous to obtain the special honour of baptism in the Church of the Blessed Apostles. . . . And he hoped at the same time that, laying down the flesh as soon as baptised, he should immediately pass to the eternal joys of heaven; both of which things, by the blessing of Our Lord, came to pass according as he had conceived in his mind. For, coming to Rome at the time that Sergius was Pope, he was baptised on the Holy Saturday before Easter Day, in the year of Our Lord 689, and being still in his white garments, he fell sick and departed this life on the 20th of April, and was associated with the blessed in heaven. At his baptism the aforesaid Pope had given him the name of Peter, so that he might be united also in name with the most blessed Prince of the Apostles, to whose most holy body his pious love had brought him from the utmost bounds of the earth. He was likewise buried in St. Peter's Church, and by the Pope's order an epitaph was written on his tomb, wherein the memory of his devotion might be preserved for ever, and the readers or hearers might be inflamed with religious desire by the example of what he had done."

The epitaph which was in the old St. Peter's was carefully transferred to the *Grotto* or subterranean of the new St. Peter's where it may be seen to this day in perfect preservation. The following is a rendering of the Latin verses.

High state and place, kindred, a wealthy crown,  
Triumphs, and spoils in glorious battles won,  
Nobles, and cities walled, to guard his state,  
High palaces, and his familiar seat,  
Whatever honours his own virtue won,  
Or those his great forefathers handed down,  
Coadjutor omnipotent, from heaven inspir'd,  
For love of heaven hath left, and here retir'd,  
Peter to see, and Peter's sacred chair,  
The royal Pilgrim travelled from afar,  
Here to imbibe pure draughts from his clear stream,  
And share the influence of his heavenly beam.

Here for the glories of a future claim,  
 Converted, chang'd his first and barbarous name.  
 And following Peter's rule, he from his Lord  
 Assumed his name at Father Sergius' word,  
 At the pure font, and by Christ's grace made clean,  
 In heaven is free from former taints of sin.  
 Great was his faith, but greater God's decree,  
 Whose secret counsels mortals cannot see.  
 Safe came he, e'en from Britain's isle, o'er seas,  
 And lands and countries, and through dangerous ways,  
 Rome to behold, her glorious temple see,  
 And mystic presents offer'd on his knee.  
 Now in the grave his fleshly members lie,  
 His soul, amid Christ's flock, ascends the sky.  
 Sure wise was he to lay his sceptre down,  
 And gain in heaven above a lasting crown.

Bede then tells us that:—

Ina succeeded Ceadwalla on the throne, and having reigned 37 years he gave up the kingdom in like manner to younger persons and went to Rome to visit the Blessed Apostles, at the time when Gregory was Pope, being desirous to spend some time of his pilgrimage on earth near to the Holy Places, that he might be more easily received by the Saints into heaven.

And the same thing was done during these times, through love of St. Peter, by many of the English race, nobles and common people, laity and clergy, men and women.\*

So that pilgrimages to Rome in the seventh century had become quite a common devotion among the English people—their devotion, as is perfectly evident, being based upon their religious Faith.

A few years later, A.D. 709, Coinred, who had for some time nobly governed the kingdom of the Mercians, did a much more noble act by quitting the throne of his kingdom, and going to Rome, where, being tonsured and professed a monk, he continued to his last days in prayers, fasting, and alms deeds, close to the shrine of the Apostles. . . .

With him went Offa, son of Sigeric, King of the East Saxons, a youth of most lovely age and beauty, and most earnestly desired by all his nation to be their King. Led by the same thought and devotion to Blessed Peter, he left wife [his betrothed, who had vowed perpetual virginity], lands, kindred, and country, for Christ and for the Gospel. He, also, when they reached the Holy places in Rome, received the tonsure, and, adopting the monastic life, attained at last to his long desired vision of the Blessed Apostle in heaven.†

\* *Bede's Hist.*, b. v. c. 7.

† *Bede's Hist.*, b. v. c. 19.



Ethelburga, Queen of Wessex, it was who had persuaded her husband, King Ina, to give up his crown and to retire as a pilgrim to St. Peter's shrine in Rome, and it is said that she accompanied him on that tedious and dangerous journey, and that they both lived the rest of their days and died in humility, prayer and penance, near to the Confession of St. Peter.\*

A few years later Frithogitha, Queen of the West Saxons, became a pilgrim to Rome, moved by her devotion to St. Peter; while Ceolwulf, King of Northumbria, received St. Peter's tonsure, and resigned his kingdom to Eadbert, who, in his turn also, in 758, received the tonsure of St. Peter for the love of God, and left his kingdom to his son.

In 853, King Æthelwulf sent his little son Ælfred to Rome when he was but five years old, and Pope Leo confirmed him, appointed him King, and took him for his episcopal son. This little boy became in time King Ælfred the Great.

*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* goes on to say that two years later:—

King Æthelwulf himself went to Rome with great pomp, and dwelt there twelve months, and then returned home. He rebuilt the English school in Rome, which had been destroyed by fire.

In 874, King Burhred went to Rome, and there settled down, and his body lies in St. Mary's Church, in the school of the Angle race.

But the most remarkable for its splendour of the Royal pilgrimages to Rome, recorded by ancient chroniclers, was that undertaken A.D. 1027, by the famous warrior and conqueror, King Canute. It attracted the attention of the whole of Europe. It was undertaken entirely out of devotion to St. Peter, and in belief in the power of that Apostle, as will appear from the following passage of the Royal letter, which Canute sent to England during the year he spent at the shrine of the Apostles.

Canute, King of Denmark, England, and Norway, and part of Sweden, to Æthelnoth the Metropolitan, to Archbishop Ælfrie, to all the Bishops and chiefs, and to all the nation of the English, both Nobles and Commoners, greeting. I write to inform you that I have lately been in Rome to pray for the remission of my sins, and for the safety of my kingdom, and for the

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\*Others think that she became a nun and died in England.



nations that are subject to my sceptre. It is long since I bound myself by vow to make this pilgrimage; but I had hitherto been prevented by affairs of State and other impediments. Now, however, I return humble thanks to the Almighty God that He has allowed me to visit the tombs of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and to honour and venerate them in person. *And thus I have done because I have learned from my teachers that the Apostle St. Peter received from the Lord the great power of binding and loosing, with the keys of the kingdom of heaven. On this account I thought it highly useful to solicit his patronage with God, &c.*

The history of St. Edward the Confessor's vow is well known. It was to make pilgrimage, as he himself writes, "to the tombs of the glorious Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and there return thanks for the mercies I have received, and implore God to grant perpetual peace and prosperity to me and my ancestors."

If during this important period of the making of England the Royal Houses were seen in pilgrimage to the tomb of the Apostle on some fourteen or fifteen different occasions, it may be said of the bishops, clergy, and people that they were continually crossing the Alps, to and fro, between England and Rome.

In the fifth century St. Ninian brought the faith of Peter from Rome to the Southern Picts. In the next century St. Kentigern, whose diocese was conterminous with Strathclyde, and therefore included a great part of Lancashire, made no less, it is said, than seven pilgrimages to Rome.

St. Bennet Biscop journeyed thither six times, and Bede says of him that, after leaving Rome, "being once more overcome by his love of Blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, he resolved to travel back again to the city which is sanctified by his body."

St. Wilfrid, whose eventful episcopate covered 45 years, seemed to be always, staff in hand, with bright and cheery countenance, climbing the rugged Alps. His biographer says that "he fought for Rome, he pledged himself in youth to Rome; he did in public life what St. Bennet Biscop did in literature and in private life—spread Roman influences: he fought, not for York, but for Rome." Eddi, his companion, *tells us that his favourite devotion was to St. Peter, and that he impressed his own love and reverence for him upon Kings and*

people ; and that he led Bishops, Primates, and Kings to make public profession of their determination "to obey in all things the commands of the Holy See." Finally his body was buried in Ripon, in the Minster which he had raised to his much loved Prince and Patron, St. Peter.

#### HARDSHIPS OF THE PILGRIMAGE TO ROME.

It may be well to bear in mind what a pilgrimage to Rome implied in those days. A rapid journey thither took from 30 to 50 days, instead of 40 hours as at present. The roads were infested with robbers, and pilgrims were exposed not only to every kind of fatigue, but to the most extortionate exactions. A writer on those times states that "no pilgrim can pass in safety, unless strongly guarded. Swarms of thieves beset every path, nor can they be evaded. They rob alike rich and poor ; entreaty and resistance are unavailing." Aldred, Archbishop of York, was robbed crossing the Alps, and St. Elphege, of Canterbury, as he was entering Italy. Tostig, Earl of Northumberland and the three Bishops of York, Wells, and Hereford were waylaid and plundered, escaping only with their lives. In 921, a large company of English pilgrims was surrounded and massacred among the Alps, and the same fate befel another great pilgrimage from England the year following.

Ælfsine, Archbishop of Canterbury, was frozen to death in the mountain passes, and another was drowned on his way to Rome.

Queen Ethelswith died of hardships on her Roman pilgrimage, and her body lies in Pavia.

We learn the details of the Roman pilgrimage of St. Richard, an under-King of the West Saxons, and of his two sons, Saints Willibald and Wunebald, from the *Hodæporicon* of St. Willibald.\*

They made their petitions in prayer at many shrines of the Saints that were conveniently situated for them ; and going on, they came to the city called Lucca. Hitherto, Willibald and Wunebald had conducted their

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\* See Canon Brownlow's translation of the *Hodæporicon* of St. Willibald, (circa 754 A.D.), published by the *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, 1891.

father with them in their company on the journey. But at Lucca he was all at once attacked with a sudden failure of bodily strength, such that, after a short time, the day of his end was at hand, and the disease increasing upon him, his worn out and cold bodily limbs wasted away, and thus he breathed out his life's last breath. Those two brothers, his sons, then took the lifeless body of their father, and with the affection of filial devotion, wrapped it in beautiful clothes, and buried it at St. Frigidian, in the city of Lucca. There rests their father's body. p. 7.

From St. Willibald's *Itinerary* we learn that their sister, St. Walburga, accompanied them, and that they, like other pilgrims to Rome, were attacked and prostrated by the Roman fever.

From Lucca they reached the long-desired Rome, and craved indulgence with tears of devotion from the Prince of the Apostles. There they visited the shrines of the Saints situated in those parts, and making sacrifices every day of themselves to God on the altar of their hearts, they stayed on from the Feast of St. Martin's until Easter, burned up by a severe [fever] sickness. However, during this time the holy brothers were, by God's providence, appointed to be a consolation to one another, so that, while one lay in bed with an access of the fever one week, the other, profiting by a temporary abatement, ministered to the one that lay in bed. And thus alternating in their occupation, one better and the other worse, the two holy brothers took care of each other. P. 40.

The historian, Lingard, says that those who survived the hardships of their long and dangerous Roman pilgrimage, usually returned to England emaciated, worn out, and ruined in health. Many succumbed entirely. Nevertheless, love for Blessed Peter and for his Successor in the See was stronger than all obstacles, so that the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in several places notes it as something quite unusual, that "there was no pilgrimage to Rome in this year," but it adds, significantly of England's devotion, that "the King sent couriers with Peter-Pence." This much may suffice to show England's love of Blessed Peter as illustrated by the pilgrimages to his Tomb.

(To be continued.)

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\* The inscription recording the death of St. Richard, King, exists to the present day in the Church of St. Frigidian, and is an object of interest to travellers.



## PITT.

*Pitt.* BY LORD ROSEBERY. London: Macmillan and Co.: and New York: 1891.

**T**HERE is no more eventful period in the history of this country than the last twenty years of the eighteenth century. It commenced with the separation of the American Colonies, and the Declaration of Independence, and closed with the Union of Great Britain and Ireland; while the French Revolution, and the first part of our struggle with Napoleon stand forth as stupendous landmarks in the intervening years. These two decades exactly coincide with the first, and incomparably the more important, part of Pitt's political career; and for more than seventeen of those troubled years he not only held the reins of government, but may in truth be said to have been the Government itself. The biography of Pitt is therefore the history of Europe, and the greater credit is due to the noble author of the little book which we have placed at the head of this article, for having given in so condensed a form a really adequate account of the great statesman. This is the highest praise that can be given to a book of the kind as a literary work, but it must be admitted that its style is singularly unequal, at some times being epigrammatic and forcible, at others overladen with figurative language in a manner which does not conform to a critical standard. Nothing, for example, can be better than the author's description of the King's early correspondence with Pitt. "There is evidence," he writes, "to show that from the first he dreaded, and in the end disliked, his too powerful minister. In their correspondence we find none of the fondness with which George III. addressed Addington or Eldon. The King's tone is rather that of a man in embarrassed circumstances, corresponding with the family solicitor." Again, he sums up Pitt's withdrawal from his warlike policy against Russia in March, 1791 in a passage of considerable power. "The rapidity of action with him had been equalled by the rapidity of reaction.

He resolved to recede in a space of twenty-four hours, during which the one division taken gave him a crushing majority. The cool promptitude and courage of his retreat, after a lease of power which would have made most men headstrong, was rare and admirable. Still it was retreat, absolute and avowed. To drain the cup of humiliation to the dregs, Fawkener was sent to St. Petersburg to try what he could effect by expostulation. It needs no great experience of affairs to judge that, when menace has been attempted and has failed, expostulation is only an opportunity for insult." Many other instances could be cited of wise and weighty apothegms summing up the situation of which the author happens to be speaking; and we are puzzled to account for the introduction of such a passage as the following:—"Taxes might grow, and armies might disappear, and the gazettes might *reek* of disgrace. Still war loans and war contracts *swelled the spawn* of corruption; still, successive ministers and their friends *filled their bottomless* pockets, and found a solid set-off to national dishonour in the pickings of national profusion," or of that in which he describes the genesis of the modern Liberal party in somewhat unflattering terms: "A thick crust of Whiggism was sloughed off, and there appeared a first, raw, callow germ of the Liberalism that was to grow in silence for forty years, and then assume a sudden and overwhelming preponderance."

But enough of the manner in which Lord Rosebery has done his work. Admirable on the whole in a literary sense, and faultless in taste as coming from a statesman of an antagonistic school! Let us pass to the subject of the memoir, and endeavour to compress into a small compass the main features of his political life.

Pitt was undoubtedly a prodigy. Born May 28, 1759, he became Chancellor of the Exchequer in July, 1882, only a few weeks after attaining the age of twenty-three; and at the end of the following year (December 19, 1783) he entered upon his long term of office as Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer. This precocity is perhaps the more extraordinary inasmuch as he possessed but a feeble constitution, and indifferent health. For many years of his boyhood he was



incapacitated from study, he was "fortified" by floods of port wine, and when he first went to Cambridge it was under the care of a nurse. How did he accumulate the stores of knowledge and experience which enabled him, as a mere youth, to govern a country and suppress Gibbon the historian? The latter incident as narrated by Lord Rosebery is too entertaining to be omitted:—

The great man, lord of all he surveyed, was holding forth, snuff box in hand, amid deferential acquiescence, when a deep, clear voice was heard impugning his conclusions. All turned round in amazement and saw that it belonged to a tall, thin, awkward youth who had hitherto sat silent. Between Pitt, for it was he, and Gibbon, an animated and brilliant argument arose, in which the junior had so much the best of it that the historian took his hat and retired. Nor would he return. "That young gentleman," he said, "is, I doubt not, extremely ingenuous and agreeable, but I must acknowledge that his style of conversation is not exactly what I am accustomed to, so you must positively excuse me."

Pitt was in fact "born a politician," and was educated with unceasing vigilance and assiduity by his father, the Earl of Chatham. During the seven years which he spent at the University, leading "the austere life of a student," and "never missing hall or chapel or lecture save when illness hindered," his only relaxation being a trip to London to eat his dinners at Lincoln's Inn and to hear his father speak, he no doubt acquired vast stores of learning. He entered Parliament for the first time in January, 1781, towards the close of Lord North's administration, as member for Appleby, and a month later made his maiden speech, which raised him at once to a position of proud pre-eminence. It was delivered without previous preparation on Burke's Bill for economical reform; and it was what, perhaps, no other first speech ever was, an effective reply in debate. Fox and North and Burke vied in congratulation. "He is not a chip of the old block," said the latter, "he is the old block itself!"

During this year Pitt practised at the bar, and although he did not hold many briefs either at Westminster or on Circuit, he obtained several encomiums from the Bench for his skill in argument and cross-examination. At this time also he seems to have strayed near the edge of the precipice which was fatal

to his great rival, for Wilberforce writes in his diary as follows:—

We played a good deal at Goosetree's, and I well remember the intense earnestness which Pitt displayed when joining in those games of chance. He perceived their increasing fascination, and soon after suddenly abandoned them for ever. Cited Lord Stanhope's *Life of Pitt*, vol. I. p. 54.

Having escaped from the bar, and also from Hazard, and having refused a subordinate post in the Rockingham ministry, he accepted from Shelburne the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer. This he held for only a few months, and on the resignation of Shelburne, though then only in his twenty-fourth year, refused to accept the proud post of Prime Minister. Lord Rosebery speaks of this act of self-denial with unqualified admiration. "With a judgment," he writes, "which can only be described as consummate, and a self-control which few by any experience attain, the young statesman, able, eloquent, and courageous as he was, refused the splendid prize, and prepared to resume his practice at the bar." He had not, however, long to wait for his opportunity, as the "Coalition Ministry" fell in the beginning of 1783, on Fox's Bill for "the better government of India," a Bill which was well described by North as "a good receipt to knock up an administration." On this occasion the King at once sent for Pitt, and "within twelve hours he had accepted the first Lordship of the Treasury and the Chancellorship of the Exchequer." It was not expected that his ministry would endure for a month, and his writ was moved amid "universal derision," yet for seventeen years he held an uninterrupted lease of power. Friends and foes alike regarded Pitt's Ministry as a "boyish prank," as a new expedient to fill up a few days, when the Government, like a set of children playing at Ministers, would be sent back to school. In truth there was but little promise of permanency in the "team" which Pitt was able to secure. It would be impossible to condense or improve the language in which Lord Rosebery describes the inadequacy of his supporters:

Camden, the devoted friend of Chatham, and Grafton, whom Chatham had made Prime Minister, both refused office. For Secretaries of State he had to fall back on Tommy Townshend (now chiefly remembered by *Goldsmith's famous line*) who had become Lord Sydney, and the young

Marquis of Carmarthen, who was upright and well-intentioned, but vain and inadequate. He secured, indeed, the scowling hypocrisy of Thurlow and the naval fame of Howe, but the one was insidious and the other dumb. It is always difficult to understand the principle on which the Cabinets of the eighteenth century were formed. Pitt's was a procession of ornamental phantoms. He, himself, was the only Cabinet Minister in the House of Commons—Dundas, the Lord Advocate and Treasurer of the Navy, who was to be his right-hand man from the beginning to the end of this administration, was outside the Cabinet. Of the Cabinet Ministers, five occupied in solemn silence the front bench of the House of Lords; while Thurlow on the Woolsack, though he often spoke, as often as not did so in opposition to the Government.

Thus, practically alone and unaided, Pitt had to sustain the enormous burthen cast upon the Government during the remaining years of the eighteenth century; and when he entered upon office it was in the face of a hostile majority in the Commons, including every debater of the first rank. On the very first day he was twice defeated by substantial majorities, but he held on in the hope of securing many seats at the general election. "Two accidental circumstances," says Lord Rosebery, "also occurred to Pitt's advantage." One was that he was nearly murdered by an ambuscade of ruffians opposite Brooks' Club on his return from the city; the other that he refrained from securing for himself the sinecure office of the Clerkship of the Pells, which was worth £3,000 a year, and which then fortunately fell vacant. But why this refusal should be called an "accidental circumstance" we entirely fail to perceive. Pitt was poor, his position was precarious, yet he splendidly rejected an ample provision for the remainder of his life. Was it an act dictated by personal pride, or was it far-seeing policy? Whatever may have been the motive, it came to a people accustomed to corruption as a revelation of a new code of political morality. "They," writes Lord Rosebery, "were familiar with great orators, and they had seen most of them provided at one time or another with sinecures or pensions; but here was a youth of equal ability to whom it did not seem to occur to place his own fortunes in competition with the Commonwealth—to whom money that could benefit the State was abhorrent. Even Thurlow could not refrain from a growl of admiration."

A general election was, of course, a necessity; for no Minister



can govern long with a majority against him in the Commons, and the election of 1784 may be said to have been the turning point in the career of Pitt. The country was with him, and he swept the polls. Although Fox was himself returned for Westminster after a memorable contest, which lasted 40 days, 160 of his followers—"Fox's martyrs" they were nicknamed—lost their seats. To what is such a revulsion of feeling to be ascribed? Why did the British public forsake Fox, who had lately been their idol? Lord Rosebery gives the answer in a few words—"The country was sick of the *old lot*;" and with good reason, for they had "landed Great Britain in an abyss of disaster and discomfiture, such as she had never known since the Dutch ships sailed up the Medway." Our troops had been beaten by the Americans and the French, our fleet abandoned to France and Spain the command of the Channel, in the courts of Europe our influence was nil; England had in fact sunk to the position of a second-rate Power. Her domestic affairs were in an equally deplorable condition. Mobs set fire to the capital, taxation was oppressive, distress and discontent prevailed everywhere. Consols stood at 56, and the unfunded debt had been increased to such an enormous magnitude that the outstanding bills were at a discount of fifteen to twenty per cent. Smuggling was carried on to an extraordinary extent. The illicit trade in tea was estimated to be more than double the legal trade; forty thousand persons were said to be engaged in it, and the farmers along the coast abandoned agriculture for the more profitable pursuit of carrying smuggled goods to a distance from the shore. It is not to be wondered at that, in very desperation, the country grasped at any chance of escape from the rulers who were at all events concomitant with disaster, and (adopting Lord Rosebery's eloquent language):—

At this moment there appeared before them a young University student, rich with lofty eloquence and heir to an immortal name, untainted in character, spotless in life; who showed the very first day that he met Parliament as Minister a supreme disdain for the material prizes of political life. The auspices under which he obtained power were not indeed popular, but less odious than the combination he succeeded. To a jaded and humiliated generation the son of Chatham came as a new hope and a possible revelation. Here was one who would not be easily corrupted; nay, one who might stem the tide flowing so fast against us at home and abroad. In a few months the elder Pitt had raised England from the

ground and placed her at the head of Europe. Might not something be hoped of his son?

In his first year of office, Pitt passed his India Bill, and set himself earnestly to work to remedy the financial condition of the country. His budget was remarkable for the great variety of expedients to which he resorted for the purpose of raising the required revenue, and no less than 133 financial resolutions were moved by him on the night of its introduction. Aided by stringent measures for the suppression of smuggling, Pitt's financial policy met with unqualified success, and there seemed every prospect that the floating debt would be liquidated at an early period.

The subject of Parliamentary Reform had been the first which engaged the attention of Pitt when he entered the House of Commons: and in the session of 1785 (April 18th), he once more, and for the last time, made a strenuous effort to correct the existing abuses. He proposed to disfranchise thirty-six decayed boroughs, to give additional representation to the Metropolis and the larger counties, and to extend the franchise to copyholders, but even this moderate measure was more than the House of Commons could be prevailed upon to accept, and Pitt suffered the mortification of a defeat by a majority of seventy-four votes. It is interesting to note the large and liberal policy which Pitt adopted at this time towards Ireland. In 1782 parliamentary independence had been conferred upon that country; and Pitt, recognising that step as irrevocable, in the session of 1785, "sought to unite the two countries on the sure basis of commercial intercourse and common interest." With this object he prepared his "Eleven Resolutions," the general scheme of which was as follows:—First to allow the importation of the produce or manufacture of other countries, through Great Britain into Ireland, or through Ireland into Great Britain, without any increase of duty on that account. Secondly, in all cases where duties on any article of the produce or manufacture of either country were different on importation into the other, to equalise the duties by reducing the higher to the lower scale; and thirdly, to appropriate the surplus gross hereditary revenue of Ireland above £650,000 to the maintenance of the naval force of the Empire. These Resolutions were presented for the approval of



the Irish Legislature in February, 1785, and passed both Houses with but little opposition. When they were transmitted back to England, Pitt in the first instance moved only a General Resolution expressing the desire of the House for the final adjustment of the question; but in the great speech which he delivered on that occasion he expounded in detail the views which he had formed. There were, he said, but two possible systems for countries placed in relation to each other like Britain and Ireland. The one of having the smaller completely subservient and subordinate to the greater, the other a participation and community of benefits, and a system of equality and fairness which, without tending to aggrandize the one or depress the other, should seek the aggregate interest of the Empire, and after denouncing the past treatment of Ireland by England, he continued with the following words of warning—"Surely, after the heavy loss which our country has sustained from the recent severance of her dominions, there ought to be no object more impressed on the feelings of the House than to endeavour to preserve from further dismemberment and diminution—to unite and to correct—what yet remains of our reduced and shattered Empire."

Pitt's eloquence was in vain. In many parts of England a loud and angry cry arose. The manufacturers of the great towns for the most part vehemently declared that they should be ruined and undone, and their opposition was too powerful to be ignored. Pitt was unable to carry his original resolutions, and introduced a fresh batch in an amended form; but the Amendments, which attempted a restriction on the Irish Parliament in respect of the Navigation Laws, hopelessly alienated Irish support. The New Resolutions were passed in the English Parliament, but being denounced in Ireland by Grattan, in a speech "incredibly eloquent, seditious and inflammatory," they were withdrawn by the Chief Secretary, and a general illumination of Dublin celebrated the disaster.

We are compelled to pass rapidly over the seven years of peace and prosperity which preceded the struggle with France. They were mainly employed by Pitt in perfecting his financial schemes, and this period of repose enabled him to reduce the National debt by ten millions. The Regency Bill, necessitated by the King's temporary insanity, would have immediately

caused the fall of Pitt, if it had become law; for the Prince of Wales was his sworn foe. Fox wrote in jubilant terms—"in about a fortnight we shall come in." Pitt, on the other hand, made unostentatious preparations to resume his practice as a junior at the Bar. The merchants of London met, and voted £100,000 to place him beyond the accidents of politics." But Pitt disdainfully refused the splendid offer, "and yet at the time," as Lord Rosebery says, "he was insolvent." It is only on account of this incident, which places in so clear a light the purity and disinterestedness of Pitt's motives, that the Regency Bill is mentioned here, for the King recovered, and in a short time the Opposition might have been brought down to the House in a couple of hackney coaches. The French Revolution while it was in progress had but little effect upon the social and political life of England; and Pitt, "while the eyes of all Europe were fixed on Paris, ostentatiously averted his gaze," and devoted himself to the preparation of his budgets, and the settlement of domestic questions. But the time was at hand when the most peace-loving of English Ministers should become engaged in the greatest of England's wars.

"To no human being," writes Lord Rosebery, "did war come with such a curse as to Pitt, by none was it more hated or shunned." It defeated all his most cherished plans. "The task he had set himself was to raise the nation from the exhaustion of the American war; to repair her finance, to strengthen by reform the foundations of the constitution, and by a Liberal Irish policy the bonds of empire—as it was, he was doomed to drag out the remainder of his life in darkness and dismay, in wrecking his whole financial edifice to find funds for incapable generals and for foreign statesmen more capable than honest, in postponing and indeed repressing all his projected reforms."

Revolutionary France was not an agreeable neighbour, and at this time she was actively engaged in a Republican propaganda throughout the monarchies of Europe. This England bore patiently, and it was not until she was desired to tear up the Treaty of Westphalia that her spirit was roused. That treaty had assured to the Dutch the navigation of the Scheldt, and Pitt himself, so lately as 1788, had in the name of Great Britain, solemnly renewed the guarantee. *The*  
*[Vol. I of Fourth Series.]*

French, however, had recently discovered "a law of nature" whereby the Scheldt should be open to the world, and as Pitt preferred treaty obligations, and his own good faith to this new-fangled "law of nature," the French Convention on February 1st, 1793, declared war on Great Britain and Holland.

For the first six months things went well with us, but from August, 1793, until the close of Pitt's career our armies were almost uniformly unsuccessful, while our splendid naval victories did little more than avert the invasion and conquest of the country. In vain did he spend vast sums in subsidising foreign states! Our allies one after another fell away from us, until in 1797 Austria laid down her arms and left England alone to carry on the desperate conflict. This year Lord Rosebery describes as "the darkest that any British Minister has ever had to face." The crews of the channel fleet mutinied, and hoisted the red flag, and the mutiny spread all over the world. The army was also infected. A hundred and thirty-five millions had been added to the National Debt, and the credit of the country had fallen to the lowest depths.

"Never," says Lord Rosebery, "in the history of England was there a darker hour. The year had begun indeed with one great naval victory, and was destined to close with another. But these isolated successes formed the sole relief to a scene of perpetual gloom. Our generals and armies had been so uniformly unfortunate that we had no longer a foot on the continent of Europe. On land our great foe was everywhere triumphant. We were entirely on the defensive. Two invasions of our islands had been attempted. A third was impending; it might at any moment take place, and could scarcely be opposed."

It is unnecessary to follow further the progress of the European War. No rift appeared in the clouds during the remaining years of Pitt's administration, and the depression caused by the enormous drain of warlike expenditure was increased by a succession of bad harvests, and by internal dissension. England was leavened by the message of the Revolution, Scotland was discontented and disturbed, Ireland was in open rebellion. Habeas Corpus was suspended, and the fears of rulers were aggravated by the vagueness of the rumours which floated in the air. The country lived in an agony of apprehension. Plots and rumours of plots were



reported on all sides. Three thousand daggers were discovered in Manchester, and Burke dramatically threw one of them on the floor of the House in his impassioned demand for coercive measures. It was in this atmosphere of turmoil and dread and coercion, that the union of Great Britain and Ireland was conceived and effected. We are on this occasion only concerned with that remarkable event in its connection with Pitt, and so far as it affords an opportunity to the ex-Cabinet Minister of a Home Rule Government of expressing his views on the critical question. Of the methods by which the Union was carried there can be no two opinions. "The Irish Parliament," as Lord Rosebery says, "was bribed and bullied out of existence," and in strong language he describes the corruption as—"black, hideous, horrible; revolting at any time atrocious when it is remembered that it was a nation's birthright that was being sold." Lord Rosebery, however, throws upon Castlereagh the disgrace of this "degrading traffic," and endeavours to extenuate the conduct of Pitt. Although the corruption was "wholesale and horrible," "it must," Lord Rosebery adds, "be remembered that this was the only method known of carrying on Irish government: the only means of passing any measure through the Irish Parliament, that so far from being an exceptional phase of politics it was only three or four years of Irish administration rolled into one." In Ireland Parliament had no power over the Ministers, and naturally the Ministers had no influence with Parliament except by means of bribery and corruption, which made "the everyday life and atmosphere of Irish politics." The total severance of the Executive from Parliament rendered the machine of government unworkable except by the power which corruption supplied, and the conclusion to which Lord Rosebery arrives seems to be that the system was so vile that "it was rightly ended, and ended by the only practicable method." The condition of both countries was desperate, and "a new arrangement had, by the admission of all parties, to be formed for Ireland. Grattan himself had tacitly given up his own Parliament as hopeless, for he had withdrawn from it, and encouraged the discussion of Irish affairs in the British legislature."

But the justification of Pitt's Irish policy—or at all events



the strongest apology for it, is that he never regarded the Union as a complete and final settlement of the question. It was but the first step, and was to be followed by the removal of all Catholic disabilities, the abolition of Tithe, and the endowment of the Catholic clergy out of government funds. Lord Rosebery asks the question—"Who will say that, followed up by large, spontaneous, and simultaneous concessions of this kind, the policy of the union might not have been a success?" That question can never be answered, for the tender conscience of George III., stimulated by the treacherous Loughborough, prevented him from violating his Coronation oath by making any concession to the Catholics; and Pitt immediately resigned. In leaving the Irish question we may quote the following words in which Lord Rosebery sums up the action of Pitt.—

It is Pitt's sinister destiny to be judged by the petty fragment of a large policy, which he did not live to carry out: a policy unhappy in execution and result, but which was, it may be fairly maintained, as generous and comprehensive in conception as it was patriotic in motive.

Although Pitt had been in receipt of £10,000 a year during the greater part of his term of office, he found himself on his retirement deeply in debt. He had to sell his country place and to accept a loan of £12,000 from some private friends. He withdrew to Walmer, and did not enter the House of Commons for more than a year, but spent his time in drilling a volunteer corps of 3,000 men which he had raised for the defence of the coast. When war was again declared he returned to active life, and everyone foresaw that Addington, his successor, must soon give place to the former minister. Addington was vain and incompetent: so incompetent as a war-minister that Woronzow remarked—"Si ce ministère dure la Grande Bretagne ne durera pas." Addington, however, was strongly supported by the king, and for some time he hoped to be able to form a coalition with Pitt, and remain in office. He, of whom Canning wrote—

Pitt is to Addington  
As London is to Paddington.

could scarcely bring himself to recognise Pitt as his superior. Accordingly, when he did, under the pressure of circumstances,

offer the Premiership to Pitt, and the latter recommended him in return to resume the Speakership, his vanity was so grievously wounded that the negotiations fell through.

Of the second administration of Pitt, which commenced May 15, 1804, and terminated with his death, little need be said. By a curious coincidence, on the same day that Pitt took his seat in the House of Commons as Prime Minister, Napoleon, the First Consul, was proclaimed Emperor of the French. The successful attack upon Melville during the session of 1805, carried by the Speaker's casting vote, weighed heavily upon Pitt, who was already much broken in health. The successes of Napoleon were more than he could bear, and it is said that he was killed by Austerlitz. Lord Rosebery narrates that Pitt, who was at Bath when he received the first account of the battle, hearing the furious gallop of a horse, exclaimed—"That must be a courier, with news for me." Having opened the packet, he said: "Heavy news, indeed!" This shock drove the gout, from which he was suffering, back upon some vital organ, and he sank gradually, until, with the heart-broken words of anguish on his lips—"O, my country! how I leave my country!" he expired January 23, 1806.

These last words express the patriotism which was the passion of his life. It would be impossible to deny that the unselfish service of his country was the main object of his thoughts and desires. Money he seems to have despised, and he lived and died in debt. Titles and decorations were nothing to him. The only reward which the king could bestow upon him at the end of his long administration, was to write a familiar note, commencing, "My dear Pitt." In an age of general licentiousness the life of Pitt was remarkable for its purity. The austerity of his morals was only equalled by the haughty coldness of his manners. His one weakness was for port wine, and it is said, that in his later years he drank to excess. But if so, some excuse may be validly offered on his behalf, inasmuch as he was actually reared on the too seductive fluid. Of his eloquence and intellectual gifts it is unnecessary to speak, and we may conclude in the words of Canning, "He had qualities rare in their separate excellence, and wonderful in their combination."

## A BISHOP OF CORK AND THE IRISH AT NANTES

(17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES).

THE erection of monumental stained glass windows in the Parish Church of S. Similien, Nantes, was the occasion, in the year 1887, of enquiries to discover the history and procure the armorial bearings of Patrick Comerford, Bishop of Waterford, of Robert Barry, Bishop of Cork, and Cornelius O'Keeffe, Bishop of Limerick. In the course of these enquiries the writer of this article was placed in communication with Canon Delôrme, of the Church of S. Donatien, Nantes, and much of the information contained in it was the result of that correspondence, due to the kindness of the Canon and the impulse given to further inquiry arising therefrom. It threw a light on what was not known or remembered in Ireland, and also on the lasting remembrance in France of what was the result of the presence in that country of the exiled prelates and priests of Ireland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and also on the part the education in France had on the future of the clergy of Ireland. Some things may appear in this and perhaps other articles which may not be as he would wish, but considering the wholesale banishment of the clergy, and their being thrown at once in a strange country without means of living and occupation, they are easily pardoned. But on the whole the exiled Irish clergy of the period were a credit to themselves and also to the country which offered them such generous hospitality. I will introduce the subject by a notice of Notre Dame de Miséricorde.

In the ninth century, tradition has it that the northern suburbs of the city of Nantes were infested by the ravages of a monster, crocodile shape, who, dwelling in the dense forest that then occupied that district, devoured many travellers and inhabitants of the city. In terror the people made a vow to the Blessed Virgin, the result of which was that, in a fight of which three chevaliers of the principal families of Nantes were combatants, the monster was killed. One, however, of the *chevaliers* perished in the fight. The head of the monster was



cut off by the two surviving victors, and the lower jaw was placed in a silver case and kept in the treasury of the Cathedral, where it remained until the great French Revolution, and is mentioned in an inventory at the time of the things taken from thence. The Bishop and principal inhabitants of Nantes were spectators of the conflict from the city walls, and as a result of the vow made a chapel was erected on the spot where the monster was killed to Our Lady, Notre Dame de Miséricorde, or Notre Dame de bon Séours. This chapel existed until it was, with so many other monuments, destroyed during the great Revolution, and its stained glass windows contained the scenes of the encounter of the chevaliers and their victory over the monster. The statue of Notre Dame de Miséricorde was also much venerated in it. The statue was saved from destruction by the pious care of a devoted woman, and after the ruin of the chapel was placed by her in the hands of the Curé of the Parish Church of S. Similien, to which the former chapel belonged.

The "Nantais" had always great devotion to Notre Dame de Miséricorde, and in all their troubles came to her shrine. The exiled Irish, who, on account of its convenience to the southern coasts of Ireland, and the frequent commercial relations between the two countries, had settled down there in large numbers, also had recourse in their troubles to Notre Dame de Miséricorde, they appear to have made it their own. The "station" is attributed to an Irish Bishop, and more than one of the rectors of the Parish Church (S. Similien) were Irish.

The people of Nantes have great devotion to the "station" which takes place annually from the Feast of the Ascension until Pentecost to Our Lady de Miséricorde; and it is calculated that from eight to ten thousand people during this period make to the station. Each parish and the several confraternities in the city have their appointed day to perform their devotions during the station. In the year 1887 monumental windows were erected in the Church, and they contain allusions to the part Ireland bore in regard to the devotion by the figure of S. Patrick, patron of Ireland, and the armorial bearings of Patrick Comerford, Bishop of Waterford, and Robert Barry, Bishop of Cork and Cloyne, and Cornelius



O'Keeffe, Bishop of Limerick, whose sojourn at Nantes had relation to the shrine of Notre Dame de Miséricorde in the parish of S. Similien. It is not quite certain which Irish bishop was founder of the station, Dr. René Le Breton de Gaubert, curé of the parish of S. Similien, in pages 37-38 of a manual on the devotion says:—"Un évêque de Hybernie exilé de son pays, persecuté pour la foi Catholique et réfugié dans cette ville de Nantes, qu'il edifia par les exercices d'une piété exemplaire établit cette station dans la Chapelle dédiée à l'honneur de la Saint Vierge sous le titre de Notre Dame de Miséricorde dans la paroisse de Saint Similien, cet évêque ayant Communiqué ses intentions à Mgr. Gabriel de Beauvau évêque de Nantes, célébra la Saint Messe dans cette Chapelle, s'y rendit tous les jours, depuis l'Ascension jusqu'à la fête de la Pentecôte, accompagné de quelques ecclesiastiques et de plusieurs personnes de Piété, avec qu'il recita des prières analogues aux pieux motifs qui les assemblaient. Plusieurs villes de Royaume et un très grand nombre dans l'univers Chrétien avaient déjà, les uns de confréries, les autres des dévotions semblables à celles-ci : d'autres des exercices particuliers de piété pour préparer les fidèles à la venue du saint esprit, lorsque ce digne confesseur de la foi entreprit à Nantes cet établissement, la paroisse de Saint Similien fut honorée de cette faveur par le choix qu'il fit de la Chapelle de Misericorde."

Dr. Comerford writes from S. Malo to the Nuncio Rinuncini on his arrival from Ireland in March, 1651. He went to reside to Nantes, and died there in March, 1652. His stay being so short it cannot be he who established the station, as mention is made of the bishop who year after year went to the Chapel de Miséricorde. On the contrary, Dr. Robert Barry, Bishop of Cork and Cloyne, spent over ten years at Nantes, and during that time assisted Mgr. Gabriel de Beauvau in the performance of Episcopal functions, as appears from the Archives of Evêché at Nantes. Though it is not certain, the time and length of his stay would point him out as the bishop who established the "station," and, also the words of the manual are like the inscription on his tomb:—"Evêque de Hybernie réfugié." Robert Barry, son of David Barry and Ellen Waters, was born about the year 1588 or 1599 in the parish of Brittway, diocese of Cloyne.

His father is styled "Dominus Ardiae" and was of the Barrymore family. His mother's family was also one of the oldest and much respected in the city of Cork. Having learned classics at home, Robert was sent to Bordeaux at an early age, when he perfected himself in humanities and followed the course of Philosophy in the schools of the Jesuit Fathers; after a short course of Theology he was ordained priest about the year 1612 or 1613. On his return to Ireland he was named chaplain to Ellen Barry, of Buttevant, Countess of Ormond, and accompanied her to England on the occasion of her marriage with Sir Thomas Somerset, third son of the Earl of Worcester. In recommending Robert to the Holy See for the Bishopric of Cork and Cloyne, Rinuncini, the Nuncio says "that he laboured much for the Faith in England, Dublin, and in other missions." Soon after this he went to Paris and there spent three years in perfecting himself in following the course of theology at Sorbonne, and coming again to Bordeaux was made Doctor of Theology. Before his return to Ireland he made a tour through Italy and spent two years in Rome; was created Prothonotary apostolic in December, 1619—Vicar apostolic of Ross, in May, 1620, and Abbot in Commendam "de choro S. Benedicti," Middleton, by Pope Paul V., who sent him to his new labours furnished with special faculties suited to the exigencies of the times. He displayed much zeal in the government of the diocese under his care. By his preaching and writings he converted those even, in other parts, who were estranged from the church, strengthened the wavering and reconciled those who were at enmity, and during the space of thirty-six years laboured much in the Ministry. His lot was cast in troubled times. On account of his great prudence and learning he was selected by the "Confederate Council" to treat with Ormond at Jigginstown. He was also of the number sent by the Confederates to England to gain the King to the Confederate side, and also to France to notify to the Queen the justice of their cause. In all difficulties he was had recourse to as an oracle. On the death of William Terry, Bishop of Cork, he was nominated to his place and consecrated by the Nuncio, at Waterford, in 1648, probably in the month of April. De Burgo mentions that the Ormond party were anxious to have him named to the less important See of Ross,

of which there was question before the death of William Terry, and another more favourable to their own appointed Bishop of the more important See of Cork and Cloyne, but were defeated by the action of the Nuncio, who wrote strongly in favour of Dr. Barry's appointment. Immediately after his consecration Dr. Barry returned to his diocese, and as the city of Cork was in the enemy's power he held a synod of his clergy in Macroom, where he gave instructions suited to the troubled state of the times, and restored by severe disciplinary laws what religion had suffered. He visited the parishes, and administered, to those who had not the opportunity of receiving it for years, the sacrament of confirmation, reconciled those who were at enmity, and preached in season and out of season the word of God. He ceased not to discharge his episcopal duties in his diocese until he was summoned by the Nuncio to Kilkenny, and stood firmly by him on the occasion of his excommunication of the supreme council. His zeal for the splendour of Catholic worship which he wished to see restored, made him oppose the truce made with the enemy. In writing and disputations Dr. Barry defended the cause of the Nuncio. His name is signed to the sentence of excommunication pronounced by the Nuncio, and posted on the gates of the Cathedral of Kilkenny. After the departure of the Nuncio he had to take to flight and conceal himself. Though Cromwell permitted many ecclesiastics to leave the country, still knowing how great a defender of the faith was Dr. Barry, he held out no hopes to him, but determined to seize him and treat him as he did Dr. Mac Egan, Bishop of Ross, his successor in that See whom his Lieutenant hanged at Carrig-a-Drohid. Whereupon the good prelate hid himself in woods and marshes, suffered hunger and cold, and for a long time was obliged to remain at night without shelter of a roof in his hiding places until a friendly ship brought him to Brittany. From thence he governed his own diocese by letters to vicars, with whom he frequently corresponded, and was also entrusted by the Nuncio to absolve from censures those who had incurred them. At length, after an illness of three months, borne with Christian fortitude, he died at Nantes at three o'clock on the *morning of Friday, 7th July, 1662.* Beloved by all, and



lamented in death, he was interred with much pomp, and his obsequies were attended by people of all classes in the Cathedral at Nantes. His friend Dr. Comerford, Bishop of Waterford, pre-deceased him by nine years, and his remains were found incorrupt on the occasion of the interment of Dr. Barry in the same vault. His tomb contained the following inscription. —

Messire Robert (Barry) par la grace de Dieu et du Saint Siege Apostolique, évêque de Cork (et de Cloyne) en Hybernne, réfugié a Nantes par la persécution des hérétiques en Angleterre lequel Morut le 7 Juillet 1662.

The words of the inscription with the coincidence of the time of Monsig Gabriel de Beauvau, and those of the manual of N. D. de Miséricorde, would make it conclusive that Dr. Barry was the founder of the station.

Most likely Dr. Barry was its originator; but certainly the most favourite devotion in the city of Nantes owes its extension to some Irish Bishop about the same time. The first notice we find of the Irish at Nantes is not in keeping with the hospitality they afterwards received in that city.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century many Portuguese, driven by political troubles from their country, settled at Nantes, and the inhabitants, jealous of their presence as interfering with their trade, wished to expel them from their midst. But in their appeal to the King, Henry IV., permission was given them to continue to reside at Nantes. The Irish, who were driven from their own country by the persecution of Elizabeth, were encouraged by this tolerance to the Portuguese to settle at Nantes. Being without protection, the municipality determined to get rid of them, that they might not be a burden to the city. For this purpose eight or nine hundred crowns were allocated for their embarkation. When the unhappy Irish became aware of the intentions of the municipality, they dispersed on their own account. Notwithstanding this, subsequently pity, on account of the persecution they suffered for their Faith, gained them the sympathy of the people of Nantes, and when the penal laws were enforced with exceeding vigour, and the Catholic Church persecuted with a hate perhaps not excelled



in the annals of history, the Irish clergy of all classes flocked there, and received a warm welcome. Many Irish families of position also settled down there in commercial pursuits, and the relations hence arising made Nantes easy of access to the south coast of Ireland, and the remote harbours afforded an opportunity of secret means of transport to the Irish students to obtain in France and Spain the education denied them under severe penalties at home.

#### IRISH SEMINARY AT NANTES.

The Most Rev. Dr. Troy, in a "relatio status" of the Diocese of Dublin, presented to the sacred congregation of the propaganda in the year 1802, mentions the necessity of the College of Maynooth for the education of the clergy in Ireland on account of the loss of the foreign colleges subsequent to the French Revolution. In these colleges his Grace mentions that 500 students were educated in France. There were two houses in Paris, one for priests, the other for ecclesiastical students, in both of which the Collège des Lombards, and the Collège des Irlandais, one hundred and fifty students received each year their support and education. One college at Nantes contained about one hundred, Bordeaux forty, and about as many at Douai. Specil Osso. Vol. 3. Page 632.

Although not the earliest established in the order of time, the Irish college at Nantes became one of the most important of the many institutions of the kind for supplying the wants of the Irish Church, as is seen from the above statement that in point of number it ranked immediately after that of Paris. The first *locale* of the Irish college was in a house, not suited for the purposes of a college, in the Rue de la Paume, or Chapeau rouge. In 1694 the Dominican nuns of S. Catherine who were established in the "Maison de la Touche," belonging to the bishop and the Religious of "Mercy of the Hermitage" in the Route de Rennes, were suppressed, as they were not authorised by letters patent. Monsigneur Jean Francois de Beauvau, Bishop of Nantes, gave to the community of *Irish priests* the house which the nuns of S. Catherine

occupied. It was situated in Rue Voltaire, at the end of it; and, at the right hand side, opposite was the "Manoir de la Touche." The buildings of the former "Manoir," and subsequently the convent of Dominican nuns, were old, and insufficient for the demands of the institution. therefore in 1727-1728 the college which existed down to a recent period was built.

The following extract from the work of the Abbé Grégoire, entitled, "État du Diocèse de Nantes," in 1790, under the title "Séminaire d'Irlande," gives an account of the college which is interesting. Page 35.

"The Dominican nuns of S. Catherine were established in 'la Maison de la Touche,' and made use of the Chapel of S. Gabriel, near the Grands-Capucins, in the parish of S. Nicholas. They were suppressed by royal edict, and their house was given to the Irish priests for the instruction of the clergy of the country."

Before "La Touche" was given them, the Irish occupied an old convent in La rue du Chapeau-Rouge (1690-1695). The present seminary was built at the expense of the Catholics of Ireland from 1727-1728. The chapel was blessed and, like the former, dedicated to S. Gabriel by Mgr. de Beauvau in 1695. The "House" is composed of a "Salle de Conseil," class halls of theology and philosophy, a refectory containing ten large tables, four rooms for professors, and from 72 to 80 cells for students.

Sir James Ware, "Antiquities of Ireland," vol. II., p. 255, thus describes the Irish College at Nantes. Dublin, 1761.

At Nantes, in France, is a seminary for Irish secular priests, established about the year 1680, by the consent of Egidius de Beauvau, Bishop of Nantes, obtained by the intercession of Doctor Ambrose Madden, of the Diocese of Clonfert, and Doctor Edward Ionery of the Diocese of Waterford. They pay rent for the house inhabited by them ever since the year 1697, and have no fixed endowment, but live chiefly by charity. The house at present affords lodgings for thirty five priests, received indifferently from all the provinces of Ireland, who live in community, and have lectures and reputations like other communities. The Chapel belonging to it is under the convocation of S. Gabriel the Archangel, whose figure, in the shape of a young man with wings, is over the high Altar.

The letters patent of the College are dated from Fontainebleau, year 1765, and are as follows:—

LETTRES PATENTES CONFIRMATIVES DU SEMINAIRE DES  
PRESTRES IRLANDOIS DE LA VILLE DE NANTES.

Registre 41, de 1766—1769, Archives du Parlement.

Louis, par la grâce de Dieu roy de France et de Navarre a tous presens et a venir salut. Notre très cher et bien amié le Père Daniel Byrne prestre superieur du séminaire irlandois de la ville de Nantes nous a fait représenter que le feu roy Louis 14 notre très honorés siegneur et vizaieuil auroit autorisé l'establissement des prestres irlandois dans plusieurs villes de nostre royaume et leur auroit donné des maisons et defferens bien fonds pour pouvoir s'y soutenir; que plusieurs prestres de la même maison persecutés dans leur pais a cause de la religion Catholique si seroient refugiés a Nantes en l'année 1695 et auroient été reçus par les evesques de cette ville dans une maison nommée bois de la Touche et dependante de l'évêché de Nantes, que la dite maison ou ces prestres ont vescu d'abord en communauté a été origé ensuite en seminaire ou ils sont actuellement prés de soixante, que leurs principales fonctions consistent dans la desserte de plusieurs paroisses où ils exercent avec beaucoup de zèle les fonctions du S. Ministère, qu'ils sont encore employés en qualité d'aumosniers dans les hopiteaux, sur nos vaisseaux, sur ceux de la compagnie des Indes, et sur les navires marchands. Mais comme leur etablissement n'a pas été par nous encore autorisée, et que par cette raison il n'a pas jusqu'a présent estre pourvu de la dotation, l'exposant nous a très humblement fait supplier de vouloir bien approuver et confirmer par lettres patentes le dit seminaire, ensemble de lui permettre de recevoir et d'acquérir, par dons, legs et donations, et par nos mêmes lettres autoriser l'evesque de Nantes à procéder suivant les regles et formes canoniques apres tout fois de decéz de l'exposant a la suppression du titre du prieuré de St. Crispin en bas Anjou, diocèse de Nantes, dont le dit exposant est actuellement pourvu, pour les fruits et revenus dudit prieuré estre mis a perpétuité au profit du séminaire, permettre en outre audit sieur evesque de Nantes de faire tel reglement qu'il jugera convenable tout pour le spirituel, que pour le temporel dudit seminaire ou la Philosophie de même que la Theologie, pourra estre enseignée par des professeurs de la nation irlandoise attendu l'eloignement du college et du seminaire du diocèse, accorder à cet effet aux etudiants la faculté de prendre leurs degrés dans l'université de Nantes en subissant les examens et soutenant les thèses ordinaires, et du surplus ordonner que le dit seminaire jouirra à l'avenir des mêmes privileges dont jouissons dans notre royaume les etablissements de même nature; a ces causes après nous estre fait informer plus particulièrement de l'utilité dudit seminaire en la de ville de Nantes, de l'avis de notre conseil et de notre grâce speciale pleine puissance et autorité royale. Nous avons approuvé et confirmés et par ces presentes



signées de votre main approuvons et confirmons ledit seminaire des prestres irlandois etabli en ladite ville de Nantes et aussi lui permettons de recevoir et d'acquérir par dons legs et donations à la charge par les prestres du seminaire de se conformer aux dispositions de nostre édit du mois d'Août 1749 et pour assurer and. établissement partie de la dotation autorisons notre aimé et feal conseiller en nos conseils le sieur évesque de Nantes à proceder suivant les regles et formes canoniques à la suppression du titre du prieuré de Saint Crispin en bas Anjou diocèse de Nantes après la decez dud. sieur Byrns exposant, qui en est actuellement pourvu pour les fruits et revenus dudit prieuré être mis à perpétuité au profit dudit seminaire permettons en outre au dit sieur évesque de Nantes de faire tel reglement qu'il jugera convenable tant pour le spirituel que pour le temporel dudit seminaire, ou la philosophie de même que la theologie pourra estre enseignée par des professeurs de la nation irlandoise; accordons a cet effet aux etudians la faculté de prendre leur degrés dans l'université de Nantes en subissant les examens et soutenant les thèse ordinaire sans toutefois que vos presentes lettres puissent prejudicier ni porter atteinte aux droits des évesques de Nantes et a ceux de l'université de la dite ville et a ceux des recteurs de la paroisse de S. Nicolas de Nantes sur la territoire de laquelle le dit seminaire est situé, Voulons au surplus que le dit seminaire jouisse à l'avenir des mêmes privileges dont les autres seminaires de notre royaume ont droit et continue de jouir. Sy donnons commandement à nos aimés et feaux conseillers les gens devant notre cour de parlement a Rennes et a tous autres nos officiers et justicières qu'il appartiendra que les dites lettres ils ayant a faire registrer et du contenu en Icele jour les preatre dudit seminaire irlandois de Nantes, pleinement, paisiblement et perpetuellement cessant et faisant cessers tous troubles et empêchemens—et unobstant toutes choses a se contrarier car tel est nôtre plaisir: et afin que ce soit choses ferme et stable a toujours nous avons fait mettre notre sel a ces dites presantes. Donné à Fontainebleau l'an de grace 1765 et de notre regne le 5/e Signé Louis—et sur le reply. par le roy. Phelippeaux.

#### UNIVERSITY OF NANTES.

In the archives of the department at Nantes there are papers regarding the University. As early as 1764 there was question of removing the University to Rennes, the capital of Brittany. The question was afterwards agitated and was not finally finished until the Revolution, when it was transferred completely to Rennes in 1778. Extract "of the motives which the University of Nantes presents to Monseigneur le Garde des Sceaux and to Monseigneur du Conseil du Roi to obtain the arguments of its privileges, and the conformation which it opposes to its translation to Rennes."



Page 6—8. And the Irish priests who come to seek in France the lights and the degrees (academic) necessary for them for the instruction of the Catholics, whom God in His mercy has preserved in the Faith, in a kingdom which has renounced the Faith of the Church, will the Irish find at Rennes the means to continue their studies? The piety of our kings has opened to them an asylum in France, a means to perpetuate the succession of pastors, the teaching of the Catholic Faith. Louis XIV. granted them at Nantes a house, afterwards erected into a seminary by letters patents in the year 1765; registered in Parliament in August, 1766, and in the Chamber of Counts, the 24th March, 1767. They number, in the seminary, one hundred. The number and wealth of the inhabitants who have need of Masses in the country is their only resource; it furnishes the means of subsistence to the men who have not preserved of their patrimony but the Faith of their Fathers; the University, zealous to forward the pious intentions of the Prince, admits them gratis to degrees; many of them carry back to their country with pure doctrine, talents which raise them to the government of dioceses and parishes; with zeal and the lights capable to console the Faith of their countrymen and sustain it against persecution. It is doubtless worthy of the piety of the King to preserve an establishment which costs so little, so honourable to France, which was always the asylum of the afflicted, and to which the Faith may owe one day a glorious triumph over error in Ireland. But is it not evident that the destruction of this establishment the most convenient for the Irish, and perhaps the most flourishing they have in France, is threatened by the removal of the University to Rennes? (*Imprimerie de la veuve d'audré Luevo Imprimeur-Librairie suré de l'Université, 1778.*)

D'Argentre *Histoire de Bretagne, apropos* of the University of Nantes. It, the University, is composed of five faculties, to wit Theolgy, Law, canon and civil, Medicine and Arts. By order of the Council of State, in the year 1735, the faculty of law was transferred to Rennes, where it is now. There have been attempts made recently to transfer thence, also the other faculties established to Rennes, but without success. In the Memorial made by the Municipality of Nantes and the University in the year 1764, the community of the town of Nantes, and the University of the town, to hinder the execution of this project, it was stated that it was desired rather its destruction than simple translation of an Establishment which was erected for the city, which suits it more than any other town of the province for the convenience of the student, for its good situation, the salubrity of the climate, the number of its inhabitants, all which render it the largest in

the Province as it is the most ancient. The same author mentioning the religious communities at Nantes in the eighteenth century.

The Irish Priests in 1790, at the "Fosse" above the general hospital called "Sanitat" in 1669, Louis XIV. submitted the University of Nantes to a minute inspection. The King's delegate was received the 4th of June, 1669, at the entrance of St. Clement's College by the superior prefect, &c. The Principal made his report, and added that the population of the College, entirely composed of externs, came to eleven or twelve hundred students, they contributed 110 to theology. Some from the Comté Nantais et Basse Bretagne, others from Poitou, from Normandy and even from Ireland, there were five Irish students.

Léon Maitre, L'Instruction Publique, page 172.

From the same, page 249 :—

In 1678 the Irish priests, driven from their country, came to establish at Nantes in the old mansion "de la Touche," a community which prospered and increased. It formed its own subjects, without being obliged to send them to the University lectures. Louis XIV., at their request, erected the "House" into a seminary in 1765. His Letters Patents granted that theology and philosophy should be taught by Irish professors, and besides that the students could take degrees in the University. Summoned to deliberate on their new creation, the University assembled in public sitting the 20th March, 1766, consented to aggregate the schools of the Irish College, on conditions that would regulate their relations.

Extract from "Public instruction in the towns and country of the Comté Nantais before 1789," by Léon Maitre, page 167, "College de S. Clement," continuation :—

Less could not be done in favour of a college to which was granted the exclusive monopoly of secondary education, especially after having refused all those who presented themselves to open schools. In the seventeenth as well as in the sixteenth century appeared bold individuals who attempted, despite the prohibition often repeated of the courts of justice and of the faculty of arts, to erect chair against chair, claiming with obstinacy that right to instruct. Richard Gybbon, an Irishman, after opening a course of philosophy, was cited by the chief beadle to appear before the rector and doctors in meeting, and was forbidden on the 30th November, 1642, to continue his lessons. He continued them. Then the procureur-général of the University cited him before the Provost of Nantes, judge guardian of the privileges of the University, who imposed silence on him on the 18th April, 1643.

After an interval of some years, R. Gybbon resumed his lessons in company with another Irishman, Patrick Maulrony, and both, together, set themselves to work in forming classes in grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy. As they wanted scholars they received all those who came to them, without inquiry into their antecedents, and admitted freely to the classes of rhetoric and philosophy those even who had just left the fourth class. In their school there was no severe punishment; hence it became the refuge of badly conducted scholars from S. Clements. The young rascals, the villains, and ill-conducted came there, sure of their independence. The consequence was that the ill-disposed scholars of the Oratorians neglected study, since they were sure to be received by the Irishmen; they became insolent to their masters, were no longer afraid of chastisement, and on the first threat of it left the College. With their new masters they were retired as it were in a citadel; they took vengeance on their former rulers in coming to create uproar or to contaminate the good scholars. If a rascal from the Oratory wished to sow disorder in the house, he gave notice to the insubordinates at the Irish establishment, and all, armed with swords and sticks, came to cause trouble in the classes. It was impossible to tolerate such annoyances. In a general assembly of the University on the 7th March, 1649, the Irish were forbidden to continue their lessons. Far from taking notice of this decree, the recalcitrants added to their number another master, the "Sieur. Benoit." This time the Procurator-general of the University laid their disobedience before the Judge Provost, who condemned by threatening them with imprisonment on the 10th January, 1650. Benoit only submitted; his colleagues Gybbon and Maulrony made no submission, they pretended to justify their conduct by shewing a permission signed by three Doctors of Theology and diplomas of Masters of Art. They were told that the Theologians had no power to grant them such authorisation, and that the Masters of Arts could only teach in the chairs of the colleges of S. John and S. Clement. It was thought that this time at least these two implacable warriors would lay down their arms, but vain hope. There still exists three sentences of condemnation issued against them, one 16th March 1650, from the Provost, ordering them

to quit the city and its environs within a month under penalty of expulsion as disturbers of the public peace ; another from the Bishop, as Chancellor and Judge and apostolic conservator of the privileges of the University, dated 8th of July following forbidding them to hold public or private schools in the city of Nantes. In the last place a third, 21st July, 1659, pronounced by the solemn sitting of the Provost, commanding them to quit the city immediately under penalty of being expelled at their expense, there remained now for them but to have recourse to the supreme jurisdiction of Parliament which was not more favourable to them than the judges of Nantes.

In another number I hope to give the authorisation of the University to the establishment of the College, and also the permission of the municipality, and other matter which reflects much more credit on the Irish than the above incident of Messrs. Gybbon and Maulrony.

PATRICK HURLEY, P.P.

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## THEISM TREATED AS A SCIENTIFIC HYPOTHESIS.

"Lo que no explique la ciencia de Dios no lo explicará de seguro la vana ciencia de los hombres. Torrentes de claridad surgen de este abismo insondable que, derramándose por todos los espacios y reflejándose en todos los horizontes, de tal manera penetran el mundo visible y el invisible, lo material y lo espiritual, el orden de los hechos y el de las ideas, que no hay cuestión, problema ó dificultad que no tenga su solución á la luz de la ciencia divina." Vide "*Harmonía entre la ciencia y la Fe*" por P. M. Mir—p. 16.

**W**HEN atheism is found among the poor and illiterate, its rise may generally be traced to simple carelessness, neglect and indifference, engendered by the sad condition of their lives, so occupied in toil and fatigue as to leave little opportunity for the practices of religion. Such unfortunate creatures are often the unresisting victims of circumstances, and are in no sense prepared to give an intelligible account of their deplorable mental condition.

With the educated the case is wholly different. An educated man is seldom content to express even a passing opinion, unless he can show some plausible ground in support of it; far less will he openly profess and maintain momentous religious or irreligious convictions, unless he can bolster them up with at least some show of argument. Passion and pride may indeed allure him away from the straight path of religious truth, but the intellect which always demands a reason for every human act, will press him so closely and unsparingly that in sheer self-defence, he will be forced either to find, or else to invent some apology of an argument for the faith that is in him. Even an infidel deems himself a reasonable being. He will consequently know no rest until he can persuade himself by quibble or sophism that his conduct is in conformity with the dictates of sound reason.

If we question the typical highly-cultured Agnostic of the nineteenth century, we shall find that he will almost invariably seek to justify his absence of faith on one of two grounds. Either he will contend that the only object with which the human mind is capable of dealing is the intelligible,\*

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\* Positivism deals only with "what is accessible to experience." It neither affirms nor denies supernatural truths, but like Agnosticism, disposes of all such questions with the trite remark.—"The invisible is not in my domain."

and that it must at once reject the incomprehensible and the mysterious—and all religion involves mystery; or else, if he do not quarrel with the incomprehensible on its own account, he will quarrel with the arguments on which it is based, and pronounce them insufficient and unsound. In fact he will candidly confess that they do not satisfy him, and are such as cannot approve themselves to any intelligent being.

The first plea we have already considered elsewhere.\* In the present inquiry we will occupy ourselves exclusively with the second.

We are now contemplating the case of an educated man, who professes himself ready and willing to accept any doctrine whatsoever, provided that it rests upon sufficient evidence, but who strongly denies that there is sufficient evidence for belief in a God or in an invisible world. In fact, when pressed, he will state and explain his position in some such words as the following: "Of course I admit the incomprehensible when it is supported by solid proof. In fact I am perfectly well aware that mysteries without number do really exist in the physical world around me, and these I unhesitatingly accept without demur; but be kind enough to observe, I accept them only because they are supported by the most unimpeachable and irresistible evidence—and my contention is that your dogmas and articles of faith are wholly deficient in this respect. The difference may be best illustrated by an example. I take a seed. I place it in the ground. It comes up a flower. Now I acknowledge that this is a mystery. I don't profess to offer an exhaustive explanation of why and how this simple, shapeless particle of unconscious matter can, in its dark and gloomy workshop underground, weave the various elements of earth, air and water into a damask rose or a blushing pimpernel. The whole process, besides being most curious and interesting, is also most mysterious. I grant all that, and yet I most readily admit the fact, in spite of the mystery in which it is shrouded. But why? Well, for a reason that is utterly wanting when I come to deal with the dogmas of faith. I believe, because I can watch the whole process from beginning to end, because I have ocular demonstration of its truth. In

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\* See "Faith and Folly," and "Faith and Reason" in *DEMAN REVIEW*, January, 1889, and July, 1889.

fact, I cannot help believing it, since I can witness each stage of the development with my own eyes, and am at perfect liberty if dissatisfied with the first or second experiment, to repeat the process as frequently as ever I please. With the dogmas of faith it is quite otherwise. When I am asked to accept any tenet of Christianity, say for example the efficacy of Baptism no such evidence is afforded me. You do not hesitate to claim my prompt acceptance of this mystery—a mystery immeasurably more marvellous than any to be met with in the whole realm of science—nevertheless you accompany your astounding demand with no proofs, such as scientists offer when proposing any of their doctrines. For instance, you gravely assure me that a little water, accompanied by a few simple words, effaces sin in the soul: you tell me that the water and the words work instantly, and on an immaterial substance (which they certainly cannot touch or come in contact with) changes beyond the power of words to describe; changes, mark you, compared to which the transformation of an acorn into an oak, or a chrysalis into a butterfly, is but trifling and insignificant! It is surely not unreasonable to ask for sound and unequivocal proofs. You call me 'incredulous and prejudiced,' but, in truth I am neither. When you inform me of the marvels of the Christian creed, I don't straight-away deny your statements, I merely hold my judgment in suspense till I hear your arguments, precisely as I would in any matter of science. All I request is that you should substantiate what you so boldly affirm, and make good your assertions. Would you have me believe in the changes wrought on the soul in Baptism? Then let me, as in the case of the developing seed, gaze upon the result and verify the truth with my eyes. I am quite open to receive your assurances, but before actually doing so, you must offer me evidence in support of your doctrine equivalent to that which I offer you in support of mine. Give me that and I promise—mystery or no mystery—to embrace your teaching readily and gladly. You cannot surely expect me to make an act of faith on any other grounds; and least of all upon the mere *ipse dixit* of any mere man."

Such is the general line of defence adopted by all classes of *Agnostics and Positivists*. They profess to follow scientific



methods, and are unwilling to apply to theology or religion any line of argument, save such as they have been accustomed to employ in physical research.

We might, of course, rejoin that this is most unreasonable : that the world of spirit and the world of matter are wholly distinct, and that methods suitable to material things will be quite unsuitable to immaterial. A telescope will reveal the secrets of the heavens, but it will not help us to read the secrets of the heart ; a microscope will lay bare the innermost texture of plants and vegetables, but it will throw no light on the mysteries of mental physiology, because the first is material, and the second spiritual. We might thus close the discussion at this point with a polite request that our opponents would be sensible enough to cease striving either to see with their ears, or to hear with their eyes. But let us rather push our investigations a step further.

It is not true that all facts, even of science, are proved by ocular demonstration, or by an appeal to the senses. Many doctrines most firmly believed and most readily accepted by scientists are mere inductions. And if the process of induction is sufficient and satisfactory in the case of scientific truth, it must be equally sufficient and satisfactory (where applicable) in the case of religious truth. Let us then attempt to establish according to strictly scientific methods, the general truth of a supernatural state, and the existence of God and of a future life. That we may follow the methods of science the more accurately, we will begin by selecting some well known truth of physics, and placing it before us, see how that has come to be acknowledged, and on what basis precisely it rests. We will then proceed to apply the same process of reasoning to the supernatural. In other words we will speak to scientific men, not in the ordinary language of theology, but in their own language, and see if we can make ourselves more intelligible.

If we put before us all that science teaches, and accept without hesitation, and ask, "on what does the certainty of these doctrines rest?" we shall find that in many instances it rests on arguments which may just as fairly and even far more cogently be applied in vindication of fundamental religious truths.

Take as a familiar instance the law of Gravitation - Does



the whole educated world accept the law? Undoubtedly. Do scientific men firmly believe in it, and acknowledge it? Do they take it for granted in their books and treatises, and lectures? Of course they do. If then we can prove the existence of the supernatural in a similar way to this, they must, if consistent, believe it also. It is worth examining. Firstly we must observe, that this epoch-making law was not always known even to the learned. It is, comparatively speaking, a modern discovery; for, though Anaxagoras is said to have suspected it five hundred years before Christ, the principle had not been explained, nor thrown into anything like a scientific form, till Sir Isaac Newton shed the light of his genius upon it in the seventeenth century. And how did he arrive at so momentous a truth?

He, like thousands before him, was a devoted and vigilant student of nature. He, as others, was struck by the perpetual movements observable throughout creation. He watched the ripe fruit detach itself from its parent stem and fall to the ground. He observed the arrow, shot into the air, return to earth. He found that the waters of rivers, brooks and torrents were ever hastening to a lower and lower level, till at last they emptied themselves into the sea. These phenomena set him thinking. How, he asked himself, are we to account for these innumerable movements in earth and sea and sky? He cast about for some simple law lying at the back of all these particular facts, by which they might be explained. Various solutions probably suggested themselves to his mind. At last after much thought and observation he hit upon the law, now known as "the Law of Gravity," and laid down the principles now so familiar to every student of Physics, viz:—

1. All masses of matter attract one another.
2. The force of attraction is *directly* proportional to the quantity of matter contained in each mass, and
3. *Inversely* proportional to the squares of their distances from each other.

In setting down these three principles he defined and proclaimed, like some hoary seer of antiquity, an article of scientific faith. And men embraced the new doctrine. They

believed Newton's word, and they believe it still. And the learned and the wise (whether observers or experimentalists) believe it, if possible, even more strongly and firmly than the simple and the inexperienced. How are we to account for the hold that this truth has gained on the public mind? Why was this doctrine, thus suddenly sprung upon the world, so enthusiastically welcomed? What *motiva credibilitatis* had Sir I. Newton to offer in support of this invisible and mysterious agency? Had he seen it? Had he thrown it into the retort and forced it to declare itself? Had he been able to submit it to any chemical test or analysis? No! he had nothing more to show for its truth, than that which reason and sound sense offer in support of the Spiritual and the Supernatural—yet the mysterious law of gravity is admitted by the Atheist and Agnostic, the Sceptic and Positivist, while the supernatural is denied.

We may profitably examine this point, and learn a lesson of applied logic. In determining whether Newton's theory should be accepted or not, men merely asked themselves, will it satisfactorily explain what we observe going on in nature? Is it, in a word, a working Hypothesis? They began by laying down the canon, "If this principle is true, it must explain and account for all the general phenomena of inorganic motion." But they did not stop here. They went indeed a good deal further, and argued conversely:—"If this principle accounts for and explains all the phenomena of inorganic motion, it must be true."

They set to work to apply the three great laws of Gravity to the various cases coming before them, and were satisfied with the results. Time rolled on. The observations of one man were supplemented by the observations of hundreds of thousands. At home and abroad, on land and sea, year by year, and century by century, these laws promulgated by Newton were found capable of explaining, the course of the stars, the velocity of falling bodies, the curve of projectiles, the arc described by a horizontal water-jet, the motion of the tides, the descent of glaciers, and in a word all phenomena of inanimate motion. The new law supplied a connected and consistent interpretation of known facts. That was enough.

The discoverer became a hero, and was regarded as a genius, and the whole scientific world cried out without one discordant note, "Credo."

That such effects might possibly be produced by other causes mattered not at all. Whether they might or not, it was quite clear that they might be explained by this. That was enough. It was all men asked. The Pope of the scientific world, Sir I. Newton, had fulminated his decree, and every head bowed to the decision.

Far be it from us to quarrel with such scientific faith—for it is most reasonable. The precise point of our complaint is, that men who believe the laws Gravity on such grounds, should deem it unreasonable of us to believe, *on exactly parallel and similar grounds*, the teaching of Faith regarding a world beyond the grave, and the final rendering to each man according to his works.

The truth of the theory of attraction rests (1) on its being required in order to account for certain well-established facts, and (2) on its power to explain such facts in a rational and satisfactory way. Thus: An apple falls to the ground. This is the observed fact. How shall we interpret the phenomenon? Why should an apple and the earth seek to meet? By virtue of what force, or law? We start ignorant of the cause, but we are not content to leave the question unsolved. We therefore set to work proposing first one cause and then another—as a locksmith might try a lock with various keys—until at last we can hit upon some theory that will unlock the mystery, and solve every known instance of falling bodies. This found we are content to accept it. Its very fitness to interpret the innumerable observations and experiments of enquirers is its best claim upon our acceptance. The ready answer it affords to each successive difficulty is the best credential it can show, and if no rival theory exist displaying similar credentials it will be accepted and held as certain. The practice of admitting and acting upon theories on such grounds, and on such grounds *alone*, is common to all scientists when dealing with the material or physical world. It is only when such a practice necessitates belief in a Supreme Law Giver and in *a future life*, that they refuse to apply their own well recognised principle and begin to act inconsistently.



It is the famous anti-Christian Haeckel himself who lays down the following significative rule for the guidance of his fellow scientists:—

“According to the general principle observed in all natural sciences, we must accept and retain for the explanation of phenomena any theory, which, though it has only a feeble basis, is compatible with the actual facts—until it is replaced by a better.”

The principle here laid down as an axiom, by such a violent opponent of all religion as Haeckel, we may surely employ in support of theism without exciting suspicion that we are applying to an interested source for our weapons of defence. Yet the application of this very principle, so satisfactorily employed in every department of physical research, is all that is needed to convince an unprejudiced and impartial enquirer of the great fundamental truths of religion. In science, the theory of gravitation is accepted because it explains the motions of the physical universe; in religion, the theory (for so we must speak of it here) of God and His providence is accepted, because it explains the motions of the psychical universe, or in other words, the moral and religious characteristics of man. The laws of attraction are no longer regarded as matters of doubt for the simple reason that they explain natural phenomena; so too the main features of the Christian creed should no longer be regarded as matters of doubt for the equally simple, and equally cogent reason, that they explain, account for, and unravel the otherwise hopelessly entangled web of human life.

Given an omnipotent, an omniscient, and an infinitely perfect God, together with the doctrine of sin, its atonement; and a future life, with its rewards and punishments, and we have an intelligible and satisfying account of what, upon any other hypothesis, must ever remain an insoluble mystery. In a word, the theory of God's existence does for the spiritual world exactly what the theory of gravitation does for the physical world, i.e., it affords a ready solution to a riddle otherwise impossible to read. Hence, as reasonable beings, we are constrained to acknowledge the postulates of Faith in



the one case, just precisely as we are constrained to acknowledge the postulates of science in the other.

Christianity is true. A future life is a reality, not a dream. Heaven and hell and immortality are stern unalterable facts. Why? For this reason (even were there no other), because they must be postulated as the only adequate means of accounting for the actual and observable phenomena of human life. They are as indispensable for the due explanation of the mysteries in the social and psychological orders, as the laws of gravity are indispensable for the due explanation of the mysteries in the physical and material order.

Let us elucidate our meaning and enforce the truth of our contention by a few illustrations. Thus, *e.g.* :

We must postulate the existence of God; for how else can we explain the fact that during all past ages, every tribe and people have believed in a God? How account for the historical truth that no nation, however rude and barbarous, or however civilized and cultured, has ever yet been found without some idea of a Supreme Being. Men's material senses may indeed lead them into erroneous conclusions, as when they thought the sun moved round the earth; but where it is not the external senses, but the intimate voice of man's innermost nature that speaks, its verdict pronounced by the entire race never is, and never can be false.

When all nations confess a God, they confess what is not an object of sense at all, but an object of inward consciousness; there is, therefore, no opportunity for sense to deceive them. They do but proclaim the silent convictions of their hearts and enunciate their inward perception of the essential relation of dependence in which they stand, as creatures towards an infinite Creator. Admit the existence of God and we have a simple clear account of the phenomenon, but deny His existence and in vain shall we seek any satisfactory solution to this startling yet undeniable fact.

So again we need the religious postulate to account for the facts of the moral conscience. As Newton asked, how comes the apple to be drawn towards the earth, so we ask, how comes conscience to be drawn towards truth and justice? The latter *phenomenon* demands a cause as peremptorily as the former. *Whence comes that marvellous witness to virtue and honesty,*

which is as unmistakable as the faculty of seeing or hearing? Why do we feel instinctively and irresistibly that (apart from all considerations of interest, pleasure, or utility) certain acts and lines of conduct are good, and certain others intrinsically bad? So unmistakably bad indeed that nothing can persuade us that they are good. So clearly contrary to justice that all the force of desire, all the violence and impetuosity of passion, and all the greed of gain or lust of pleasure are powerless to disguise from us their true character, or to cover them with any veil thick enough to hide their moral deformity from our eyes. Even when we are over-ruled by the vehemence of temptation and basely succumb to it, it is not the intellect but the will that yields. While the hand is yet red with innocent blood, and the passionate impulse still thirsts for vengeance, conscience does not cease to condemn and denounce the crime. Who will account for such an universally observed fact† except on the theory of an Omnipotent Ruler who has thus impressed His will on the hearts of his creatures? It is the simplest and most satisfactory theory, and the theory longest in possession, so that even on Haeckel's showing it should be preferred to the preposterous accounts which have been proposed as a substitute in modern times.

Consider further that conscience not merely distinguishes right from wrong, and points out to all the nobler and the better way, but that it stings the disobedient with the anguish of remorse. Now, what gives birth to that secret feeling of

\* There is as much ground, or as little for trusting to the report of the moral faculty, as for believing our perceptions in regard to an external world, or our intellect respecting the relations of number and dimension. Whatever is the authority of reason respecting the true, the same is the authority of conscience for the right and good. (Types of Ethical Theory. Part II. Book I., ch. iv. p. 114, by J. Martineau.)

† Die Griechische bezeugt, dass bei allen Völkern das Gewissen als höhere Macht des sittlichen Urtheilens und Richtens bei sämtlichen Beziehungen des bürgerlichen und des religiösen Lebens vorhanden war und anerkannt wurde. In den Religiösen Sagen der alten orientalischen Völker, sowie in dem Ritus und Reinigungs Wesen findet die Idee des Gewissens besondern Ausdruck. Bei den Griechen und Römern wurde sie theils in mythologischen Kleid gehüllt, theils von Rednern und Dichtern ausgesprochen. &c. &c. Vide "Gewissen," in Kirchenlexikon, p. 566, ed. 1888.

\* Le remords, c'est l'accusateur, le témoin, le juge que Dieu a mis dans le cœur du méchant pour mieux établir que son crime a été vu, pensé, médité. S'il n'y a pas une loi avec sa récompense certaine et sa punition certaine, le remords n'a pas de raison d'être. Si le crime ne doit pas trouver un juge infallible et un vengeur tout-puissant, le remords est une dérision de la nature. — p. 76. *L'Immortalité*, par M. Baguenault de Puchesse.

self-condemnation and pain, of which every transgressor is fully sensible? Whence springs that pitiless and implacable voice within our souls ever accusing, upbraiding, and chiding us for our rebellion against an authority more peremptory in its commands than any to be found among earthly tribunals, and more actual and obtrusively near to us than any visible presence? Who will offer us an intelligible explanation of this voice, so sweet in its approval that some have thought such approval itself reward sufficient, and yet so terrible in its condemnation that even death is often sought and embraced as a less intolerable alternative.\*

The imperiousness of the voice of conscience, though quite one of the most remarkable, is also quite one of the best established facts in nature. It is impossible to deny its existence. It is impossible to explain it away as unimportant. It is impossible to confound it with the experiences of utility. It will sometimes lash a criminal so unmercifully and so goad him on, as to dry up every source of peace and happiness. In fact, as Canning observes:—

No evil is intolerable, but a guilty conscience.

Often, as history proves, it will drive men positively to seek what, under ordinary circumstances they most fear and loathe, *e.g.* death; and not merely death, but a death of ignominy and agony at the hands of the common hangman. Again and again we read of men who have escaped detection after the perpetration of some ghastly murder, giving themselves up at last to the police.† In some cases they have borne the burden of their sin for many years; so many indeed, that every trace of their guilt had vanished, and every

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\* "Infernus quidam et carcer animæ, rea conscientia est" says St. Bernard: *de Assump: B. V. M.* And again:—"Nulla poena gravior prava conscientia." So too St. Ambrose asks:—

"Quæ poena gravior, quam interioris vulnus conscientie? Nonne hoc magis fugiendum quam mors, quam inopia, quam exilium quam debilitatio dolor?" S. Ambrose—*Lib 3. offic. cap. 4.*

† As an instance take the case mentioned in the *Daily Telegraph*, Oct. 26, 1891, where it is stated that a certain Charles Green gave himself up at Bermondsey Police Station for the murder of Minnie Gilmour, whom he confessed he had shot eight months before in Philadelphia. He gave himself up because as he said, "I have not had an hour's rest since I did it" or as the *Star* (Oct. 24th) put it, "his deed so haunted him that he determined to hand himself over to the police." Such an instance is but one among many.



time which might have led to their apprehension had become obliterated, and all hope of discovery had been abandoned. It mattered not. In spite of this they could not rest. Their iniquity haunted them still. It rankled in their breasts. It dogged them wherever they bent their steps. It hung above them as a heavy cloud by day, it scared them as a pillar of threatening fire by night. In no case did it cease to harass them. They dwelt amid continual torments, and knew no peace. Anything was preferable to that. Better no life, than life under such conditions. Hence conscience at last constrained them to deliver themselves up to the authorities to be pinioned and hanged by the public executioner. Though such a death is held forth by the executive as the supreme and last threat to terrify evil doers, yet even such a punishment may be found more bearable than the stinging and reproaches of an outraged conscience, which has justly been described as "the hell of a living soul."

Now, how shall we explain this conscience unless we postulate a future life where its unheeded warnings shall be avenged; how account for its impartial verdicts unless we postulate the existence of a God to impress His laws on the fleshy tablets of the heart? \* The echo answers, "How?" The necessity of an explanation is admitted by the most unbelieving men of science, but instead of accepting the simple Christian account, they have sought to substitute another in its place. Conscience, they assure us, is nothing more than "the accumulated experiences of utility." The old account of morality, they describe as "absurd," while they calmly inform us that it is "through long experiences of the consequences of conduct, that man has been rendered organically moral." To refute such an extraordinary assumption would need a treatise to itself †. We can do no more here than trust to the common sense of our readers in the matter, and pass on, merely reminding them that the orthodox or Christian theory is in

\* "The very existence of conscience" says Cardinal Newman, "carries our minds to a Being exterior to ourselves, for else, whence did it come? and to a Being superior to ourselves, else whence its strange, troublesome pre-eminence?"

† The present writer attempted such a refutation in the pages of one of the American monthlies last year; vide "The Evolutionary Theory as applied to Conscience" in *The Catholic World*, April, 1890.



possession, and that even on scientific grounds a new theory can never oust an old one, unless it can offer a more reasonable and a more complete interpretation of the phenomena under consideration. In the case before us theism offers us, not only a more satisfying answer, but the only answer which is anything better than a subterfuge. By what "experiences of utility," we wonder, would a murderer ever arrive at the heroic determination to deliver himself up into the hands of justice?

But besides (1) the universal belief in God, and (2) the verdict, and (3) the remorse of conscience, there are many other psychological facts which admit of no satisfactory solution—except always, on the supposition that the fundamental dogmas of Faith are true. Take, for example, man's insatiable thirst for happiness, on the one hand, and on the other the utter impossibility of at all adequately satisfying it here upon earth. Where else in all nature shall we find such a craving, such an irrepressible longing denied and balked of its satisfaction? Are all other wants capable of meeting with their appropriate satisfaction but this one? Is the strongest and most persistent of all yearnings to be the only exception to an otherwise universal law?

According to the teaching of Evolutionists a faculty never outgrows its environment, nor a muscle its use. If, owing to a change in the environment, a limb or a muscle has no longer any scope for exercise, it loses its power and becomes atrophied. Thus, if an eye dwell in constant darkness, it will gradually lose its efficiency, and in the course of a few generations its very power of vision will go. It grows blind without even becoming conscious of its loss. In this manner, by a law of adaptation, every unoccupied and superfluous faculty of mind, or body will (if not at once, at all events, in time) correspond with the conditions of its environment. But observe: this principle, though applicable in ten thousand other instances, refuses absolutely all application to man's mental faculties.

His capacity for happiness exceeds, by an immeasurable distance, the opportunities for it afforded him here. Were Darwin's principles just, man's capacity, after all these generations, should have shrunk and contracted to the level of its *opportunities*. But nothing of the kind has taken place.

Quite the contrary. Man was never so far dissatisfied, never so far above his surroundings, never so aspiring and desirous as at present. The more he gets, the more he wants, and the further he advances in knowledge and civilization, the more extended and boundless grow his desires.\* The delights of this world can never satisfy any one. No rational being exists whether man, woman or child who finds the pleasures of this life wholly sufficient, or even in a distant degree, proportioned to his capacities. A sense of incompleteness and therefore of discontent is universal and rests upon every member of the race.

This discontent probably approximates to a qualified contentedness in the case of those only, who believe in a state of future and eternal beatitude to which they can look forward. They are indeed content—content to wait.

If we compare the condition of man with the condition of all inferior beings, we cannot fail to note the striking difference. Whereas they afford unmistakable evidence of an end attained, man affords evidence quite as unmistakable of an end not merely unattained, but, in the present order of things, hopelessly unattainable.† The bird that sings to its mate on the waving bough, the fish that darts along in the crystal brook, the bee that murmurs in the bell of the foxglove, and all other sentient beings, down to the industrious parasite or microscopic infusoria, manifest the most unequivocal signs of unclouded happiness and sweet content. They are satiated to the uttermost extent of their capacity. Even the thought of death cannot distress them, nor throw so much as a momentary shadow over their pleasurable existence. For death can cause no suffering except in anticipation, and to

\* "We, to-day, are sensible of a thousand wants which were unknown to our grandfathers, relating to comfort, hygiene, cleanliness, education, travel, social intercourse, and it is certain our grandchildren will have further needs. The more we see, the more we learn, the more our curiosity awakens, and the more our desires increase and multiply. Each invention, each idea that is born into the world engenders a whole generation of new wants." See "Principles of Political Economy," by Charles Gide.

† *L'homme aspire à sortir de la douleur de l'imperfection, et chaque palpitation de son cœur est un désir de félicité. Quelle limite assigner à ce désir ? Il n'en a point.*

*"Born dans sa nature, infini dans ses vœux,*

*Imparfait ou déchu, l'homme est le grand problème."*

*Lamartine.*

man alone it is given to anticipate.\* When death is actually come to bird or beast, it extinguishes sensation and self-consciousness before its presence is even suspected, and when sensation is gone it is too late to learn.

Far otherwise is it with man. He has no practical experience of perfect contentedness.† "Man never is, but always to be blessed." Who, in sooth, drawing out the contrast between man on the one hand and the irrational beasts on the other can hope to offer a really adequate explanation on a purely scientific basis. Religion will explain it: nothing else ever will.

Consider yet another fact that needs the teaching of faith to interpret it, viz., man's perfectibility. Man's faculties are susceptible of endless expansion and development.‡ Not so those of the lower creation. Irrational animals attain the full perfection of their nature at once, and without difficulty. No one claims for them any sense of want when once their sensual instincts are gratified; nor any strong inward impulse towards a more full and perfect life, nor any of the irrepressible aspirations after higher and nobler things, such as are found welling up in the heart of every good man. If indeed there were no other life awaiting us, who would not envy the peace and calm of the unconscious cattle browsing in the meadows? who would not right willingly exchange his humanity with the birds of the air with the mischievous sparrow twittering and chirping so gaily among the eaves, or with the agile swallow skimming merrily, merrily over the glassy surface of lake or pond. They at least know no sorrow, nor care, nor poverty, nor disgrace. The sting of remorse, the bitterness of disappointment, the pangs of unrequited love, the anguish of separation and of death, and the blighting and destruction of long cherished hopes, are all

\* This is remarked by Schopenhauer - "Das Thier lernt den Tod erst im Tode kennen - der Mensch geht mit Bewusstsein in jeder Stunde seinem Tode naher etc."

† "L'homme elevera dans son cœur des amour plus vastes, plus purs et plus ardents, et de son cœur malgré tout s'échapperont encore les soupçons, les desirs, les défaillances et les regrets. il ne connaîtra pas le bonheur complet." p. 31, "La nature humaine," par C. Dollfus.

‡ La volonté humaine, au lieu de s'arrêter à mesure que sa puissance augmente, tend de plus en plus vers un pouvoir sans limite; elle atteste à son tour l'ambition de l'homme que nous remplît. *Le désir de l'infini constitue l'humanité.*" p. 30. Chas. Dollfus "La nature humaine."



forms of human trial that can never enter into their experiences.\* They are as happy in their innocence, as they are innocent in their happiness. Man, on the contrary, though the lord of the visible creation, bears about with him the impress of sin and of guilt. His whole condition is a striking revelation of his fall from a higher state. That fact at least may be read in the history of the race throughout the centuries. Whence this remarkable fact? Ask an explanation of Faith, and it points to the fatal tree in the garden of Eden, and then to the tree on the heights of Calvary; and the mystery is cleared up. Demand an explanation of science, and it can only meet our demand with empty words which explain nothing. Science cannot explain, for to her has not been entrusted the key of the riddle.

Man's entire being proclaims, as from the lips of a herald, that there has been a wrench and a dislocation in his moral nature, from which he is still suffering. The dislocation of a joint, by the pain and unrest that it occasions, bears not a more eloquent testimony to the mishap that gave it birth, than man's moral and mental state bears evidence to the original transgression. Yea; in the sorrows, trials, disappointments and tribulations of life, one may read as in a book, unmistakable evidences of the terrible truth taught by divine revelation, that man is a transgressor, and the child of a rebel against the divine ordinance pre-established by the Fashioner and Ruler of the Universe.

Man's dread of death, and his vehement desire of immortality is another indication that he was never meant to perish utterly. Even apart from the natural fear of plunging into the unknown—itself a consequence of latent Faith that all ends not with death—man possesses, under ordinary circumstances, an invincible desire to survive the dissolution of the body. †

\* Like the Elf children, described by Musæus, irrational creatures are also "free from all the infirmities of childhood; they have no swathings to gird them: they teethe without epileptic fits; they need no calomel taken swarvily, get no rickets, have no small pox, and of course no scars, no scum eyes, or puckered faces; nor do they require any leading strings."

† "Impossibile est appetitum naturalem esse frustra. Sed homo naturaliter appetit perpetuo manere quod patet ex hoc quod esse est quod ab omnibus appetitur homo autem per intellectum apprehendit esse, non solum ut nunc, sed et bruta animalia, sed simpliciter. Consequitur ergo homo perpetuitatem secundum animam, qua esse simpliciter et secundum omne tempus apprehendit."—S. Thom: Sum: Con: Gent. II—79.



He feels instinctively, even when death is actually knocking at his door, that the final goal has not yet been reached, and never can he willingly resign himself to annihilation.

Sure there is none but fears a future state ;  
And when the most obdurate swear they do not,  
Their trembling hearts belie their boasting tongues.

*Dryden*

Even here, while treading the sodden and work-a-day earth, his mind's eye glances down a thousand bright avenues of possible delights which he knows he can no more traverse now, than he can wander through the golden fields of splendour that the sinking sun paints with its fairy brush on the western skies. Who has not experienced in certain favourable moods, silent and sudden flashes like rays through a riven cloud, lighting up his innermost soul, and enchanting every sense, with the purest and most entrancing promises of joys to come—joys, so answering the deepest hunger of the heart, so corresponding to the innermost thirst of the soul, that it leaps and bounds at the very thought, and realizes that it is indeed made for their possession, whether it actually attain to them or not. \* Yet how could we account for this fact did all end with death? The whole mystery of life becomes perfectly simple and intelligible when the true Christian explanation is accepted. On any other theory it becomes an involved and complicated tangle which no one can unravel. According to the principle laid down by Haeckel and other scientists we should always accept the theory which best meets and disposes of the phenomena to be accounted for.† This in the case

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\* " . . . So ergibt sich, dass die Unsterblichkeitsidee seit Beginn des menschlichen Geschlechtes bekannt und anerkannt war; ihr Ursprung datirt sich bis hinauf zum Urmen-schen; sie ist mit dem Finger Gottes eingeschrieben in die Menschenbrust und mit Menschenhand in die Urkunden des grauesten Alterthums . . . Sie existirt bei den ältesten Culturvölkern, Sinesen, Indern, Persern, Aegyptern, eben so gut, wie bei den Naturvölkern, wie sie sich noch in unserem Jahrhunderte in Amerika, Afrika, Australien vorfinden." p. 982 "Die Unsterblichkeitsidee im Glauben" von—DR. L. Schneider.

† Thus, to give an example of the practical application of this principle, we may instance the case of light and heat. The sole reason why the "emission" theory of light and heat has been given up by scientific men, and that the "vibratory" theory has taken its place, is because "the vibratory theory gives a more satisfactory and a completer explanation of the phenomena in question than the older theory."

before us is undoubtedly the Christian theory of One God the Ruler and Controller of the Universe, etc.

The foregoing reflections are, of course, not intended to contain the full weight of proof in support of the Theist's position. They have been introduced to serve merely as a preamble, and to show an *à priori* reasonableness of the supernatural explanations of life. Had we nothing more to show for our belief in a God and a divine Providence than what is touched upon in this paper, we might still establish a claim for our theory over every rival. But, of course, there are innumerable special proofs which are too well known, however, and too well propounded in books accessible to all, to need reproducing here.

We will then conclude by reminding our readers of one last fact, which would be as inexplicable as the rest were God but a myth and eternity but a dream, and that is, that the wisest and best men—those possessing the noblest dispositions and the most gifted intellects—have been the very readiest and most anxious to acknowledge a God and a life beyond the grave. That the holiest should be in error, and the wisest deceived, would be sufficiently strange if true; but it would be far stranger still and almost incredible if the sublimest acts of heroism and generosity ever performed, and the highest virtues and the noblest deeds ever practised had all been inspired by a hope that is delusive and a faith that is false. The life of a single great saint is inexplicable unless the supernatural be admitted, but when we have to account for not one, but hundreds of thousands, the argument assumes overwhelming proportions, and becomes, to an unprejudiced mind, wholly irresistible.

So soon as the existence of God and a future life becomes recognised as a necessary hypothesis, the mind will readily be convinced of the propriety and urgency of a divine revelation to put man in communication with his Maker. Revelation once admitted, the whole principle of divine authority is securely introduced, and in the presence of a fully recognised authority all particular difficulties and objections regarding the supernatural effects of prayer, and the sacraments, and the rest must dwindle away and speedily vanish. The power of Baptism to purify and sanctify the human soul, for which the

supposed infidel in our opening pages sought ocular and empirical proofs, will then be found (like all other special doctrines of revelation) to rest on a yet firmer and securer ground, namely, on the unswerving basis of a divine promise and institution.

The single hypothesis of an Infinite Being will account for the following facts :—

1. The universal belief in a God.
2. The verdict or judgment of Conscience.
3. The remorse and pain following on a disregard of Conscience's verdict.
4. The desire for a happiness not attainable in this world.
5. The perfectibility of man.
6. Man's instinctive dread and fear of death.
7. Man's inward sense of imperfection, and of a destiny as yet unattained.

To this list we might add many other items. Natural selection of course professes to account for everything, but that system exhausts itself in postulating, and multiplies hypotheses beyond all reason, and in defiance of the well known axiom generally called Occam's razor, which lays it down that—"ENTIA NON SUNT MULTIPLICANDA SINE NECESSITATE."

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.



## ARE AGNOSTICS IN GOOD FAITH ?

### A THEOLOGICAL ENQUIRY.

EVER since the religion of Jesus Christ first reached its adult stature and stood four-square to resist the winds of adverse teachings, there has never perhaps been a period when reasoned unbelief in God was wider spread and deeper seated than in these latter days. Atheism has, indeed, ere this been louder and more obtrusive. It has never been more subtle or more seductive. The 18th century was certainly blatant in its unbelief—violent, intolerant, unmeasured. It tore down the altar of "the incorruptible God," and bowed the knee before the altar of an only too corruptible woman. It broke in pieces the figures of Christ and demolished the images of saints, while it guillotined those who practised the religion of Christ and emulated the holiness of the saints. But the unbelief of the 18th century made no lasting impression on the European mind. It was too gross and repulsive to last. It enthroned indeed a "goddess of Reason," but its foundation was ridicule rather than reason, and when the whirlwind of passion that had fanned it into fierce life subsided, it was smothered out beneath the load of its own grotesque and indecent extravagances. But the Agnosticism of our age prides itself on being, above all things, moderate, forbearing, reasonable, refined. It professes to entertain no prejudice against God—if He exist; and to have no disposition to deny His existence—if it can be proved. Modern unbelief, in England at least, is calm and dispassionate. It will weigh evidence as well for, as against, God. It aspires to the character of judge, and disclaims the attitude of counsel. And, indeed, such is its large impartiality that it brings the rush-light of its intelligence to the quest for data to establish the existence of the Almighty, and sorrows like another Diogenes when, lantern in hand at noonday, he sought in the market-place of Athens for a man, and bemoaned his inability to find one. English Agnosticism is, then, a tolerant



philosophy.\* It interferes with no man's religious belief; nay, rather it inclines to envy him his capacity to believe. So far from seeking by force to abolish faith in Christ or to prevent the practice of the Christian worship, it professes to feel an earnest respect for the one and to find a real utility in the other. For it holds that the man Jesus—though deluded by a dream that he was God—worked with a well-directed enthusiasm at the mental, moral, and social regeneration of the world, and thus deserved a niche amid the best and noblest of Humanity's sons;† while of his religion it may be said that the pomp and pageantry of its gorgeous ceremonial minister to that sentimental craving for ritual, implanted by a capricious evolution in the sensuous part of human nature.

The unbelief, then, of to-day, compared on its negative side with the unbelief of the 18th century, is a subtler influence and a stronger power for good or evil, because it is so moderate and so liberal and so tolerant of opinions that clash with its own. That it is, in some degree a power for good we English Catholics must needs allow. For we now meet with a large measure of liberty formerly denied to us, and are left to worship God in our own fashion, unvexed and unmolested. The Catholic Church in England and America is prosperous and not afflicted: while the Catholic Church, on the Continent—under a régime of Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality—is, on every side, brutally plundered and trampled under foot. This fair treatment English speaking Catholics owe in great part to Agnosticism. Let us be grateful for it. Not that Agnosticism loves us; it is merely indifferent towards us. Yet if indifferentism in the sphere of religion is doing huge harm, that is no reason to deny that it is also doing, indirectly, great good. And of this good we are reaping the benefit.

Modern unbelief, then, by its moderation allays opposition. But it does more. There are elements in it well calculated to make for it, if not partizans, at any rate friends even among

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\* But it sometimes forgets its gentleness. "Ultramontaniam is demonstrably the enemy of society, and must be met with resistance, merely passive if possible, but active if necessary, by the whole power of the State." Huxley "Critiques and Addresses," p. ix.

† A curious view, truly, of Jesus Christ! Surely, as Catherine Elmore said, He was either a miracle-working God or an infamous impostor. In neither case should He occupy the niche in question.

nominal opponents. For it appeals to human respect and to human sympathy. It appeals to human respect; for a Christian needs to have courage and the strength of his convictions to express dissent from the popular views of the men who represent Agnosticism in this country—men of splendid gifts and brilliant position—men who claim to be freed from the thralldom of prejudice—intellectual Dictators, who, consciously or unconsciously, assume a lofty tone of mental superiority, and from their pedestals, like so many Stylites, look down on the everyday worshippers of common clay below who continue to adore God in the ancient, orthodox, obsolete fashion. For has not Evolution “selected” the agnostic as the “fittest” for advanced development and endowed him with a mind to think more clearly, and a will to will more strongly than the vulgar rank and file of his own generation? And it appeals to human sympathy, for the agnostic has found that life is not worth the living, and hence there is begotten in him a more than Byronic melancholy that has about it for many people an attraction of its own. He is the victim of clear thought. He has sacrificed all in pursuit of pure unadulterated Truth, and, having found it, is very unhappy. For, as he will tell you, his philosophy in destroying the primitive childlike delusions about things—about God, and the human soul, and the eternity of punishment and reward, and the other “fascinationes nugacitatis” or witcheries of nonsense that so long have amused and beguiled men—has robbed life of its pleasantnesses, of all that gave it substance and solemnity, of all that cheered and gladdened it, of all its warmth and charm and colouring, and has left to its votary little to live for in the present, and nothing to hope for in the future, has left him as one only dreary inheritance to travail in weariness of spirit for the benefit of that airy nothing called Posterity for which very possibly he cares hardly anything at all, and which most certainly will care absolutely nothing for him. So that behind the Agnostic sits Black Care, and he frankly confesses that the dry light of pure intellect is but a feeble substitute for that thick mental atmosphere in which the benighted believer bows the knee and prays with bated breath to the invisible intangible fetish, whom, in reverence, he calls Almighty God.

The agnostic, then, is so magnanimously regretful at his own advantages, mental and moral, and laments in so touching a strain the position of profound hopelessness to which—as he loves to put it—inexorable logic has reduced him that a tendency is noticeable, even among practising Christians, to admire and sympathise with the know-nothing philosophy, and to hint that it perhaps has a good deal to say for itself, and at least ought not to be too lightly condemned. I propose, therefore, to examine to what extent theology may be said to justify this sympathy, and to consider in the light of revelation how far an agnostic can fairly be regarded as in good faith and as conscientious in his unbelief. The arguments to be brought forward are, in the main, such as all denominations of Christians must admit to be valid; and even a fair-minded opponent in the agnostic camp, though he may refuse to receive revelation as the Word of God, will not deny a considerable value to what we call the inspired writers and the Fathers of the Church—the greatest intellects as well of the Old Dispensation as of the New. Finally, if in this paper hard words are applied to unbelievers the writer desires to point out that they are not his, but are those of the authorities he quotes. The agnostic claims to condemn us on his principles. He will not refuse us the right to judge him on ours.

It is necessary, however, at the very outset to forestall a preliminary objection. Theology, it will be said, can in no sense be a witness against Agnosticism. Theology has simply no *locus standi* in the case. The formal object of theology, the source from which it derives its premises and argues to its conclusions, is revelation; but how prove the existence of a revelation unless you first prove there is a God to reveal? Theology claims to be a science of which the primary subject-matter is God. Now a science or an art postulates, it does not demonstrate, the existence of its subject-matter. The geometrician, given a radius and a circumference, will work out, according to the rules of geometrical science, the relation of radius to circumference. The shoemaker, given a pair of feet requiring shoes, will measure and shoe them according to approved rules of sutorial art. Similarly, the theologian, given God, will explain the nature and attributes of divinity; but the theologian assumes the divine existence just as much as



the geometrician assumes the existence of a circle and the shoemaker the existence of feet to be shod. In one word, protests the adversary, theology presupposes God's existence and can therefore have no claim to sit in judgment on the agnostic who denies that existence. Theology has no jurisdiction in the ~~matter~~.

This objection, it is fair to allow, is based on truth, but not on the whole truth. For the philosophical arguments, drawn from pure reason to prove the divine existence, may be viewed in a two-fold way—directly and reflexively. They are studied *directly* when we consider the nature of contingent beings, their mingled perfections and imperfections, the dependence of the universe as well as the arrangement of its parts and the co-ordination of these parts to an end, the absolute and ineradicable power of the moral law to impose moral obligations, and, in a less degree, to coerce the conscience and enforce the moral dictates; and thus we are led by our unaided reason, by the intellectual light connatural to the mind of man, to understand how there must exist a Non-contingent, Necessary Being, the creative Cause of these manifold effects, a Being All-powerful, All-wise, Most-perfect, Supreme, Unchanging, just and holy Upholder and Legislator, Origin and End of all things. In this way is God's existence studied directly in the light of *a posteriori* reasoning. But we can also study the reasoning itself and weigh the value of the arguments adduced. The rational arguments for God's existence are viewed *reflexively* when we examine into the general question as to whether man's mind is endowed with the faculty to arrive by its own unaided natural light, and that, too, with certainty, at a knowledge of God's existence; and, more in particular, whether human reason, of itself and without supernatural aid, can ascend from the existence of the creature to the existence of the Creator, from the existence of the Made can deduce the existence of the Maker, and can prove Him to be a Supreme and Divine Being—God, one, true, personal, distinct from the rest of the material and spiritual universe. This reflex study belongs to the spheres of both reason and revelation, of both philosophy and theology—but to each in a different way. In philosophy, the direct and reflex considerations are so intimately connected that in the direct



demonstration we have a solution of the reflex question; for it is universally true that human reason, when it knows an object with certainty, knows also by virtue of its very constitution that its knowledge is true. A very superficial self-introspection will make this clear. When, for example, the student has learnt that the square on the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle is equal to the sum of the squares on the other two sides, he knows implicitly that he knows this truth, and he knows implicitly that he knows it truly. Hence it is an axiom of sound philosophy that there is no true knowledge unless, knowing, you know that you know; for knowledge is that resplendent intellectual light which illuminates and reveals, not only other things, but also itself. It would be superfluous to add that this implicit, reflex, philosophical knowledge may of course be made explicit, may be made more perfect and rendered more distinct by a formal analysis of the arguments involved.

This judgment, implicit or explicit, which human reason passes on its own natural capacity to know God, and on the rational demonstration by which it knows Him, does not exclude a supernatural utterance and declaration on the possibility and moral necessity of acquiring this knowledge. There is nothing inconsistent in this, that God, the author of the light of reason, should have delivered to us a supernatural revelation declarative of man's faculty of knowing Him, and of the precise manner of exercising this faculty. In a word, if the Creator has endowed man with reason, and has opened a channel, through creatures, by which man may exercise that reason to acquire an *à posteriori* knowledge of his Maker's existence, it is not difficult to understand that God should, by revelation, recall these facts to man's mind, and should chide man for his denial of the Creator who gave him being. To study this revelation is to study *reflexively and theologically* the rational arguments for the divine existence.

After this necessary vindication of the general claim of theology to testify to—to state, and weigh, and declare—the value of the rational arguments for God's existence, we can *pass on to the particular question as to whether, in fact, it does so testify.* Is there, in reality, a revelation in which God

*theoretically* indicates the way in which man, by the unaided light of reason, can and ought to attain to a knowledge of Himself, by which He *practically* declares that rational demonstrations of His existence, based on the fact of the existence of the Universe, are valid and sufficient.

These questions have not seldom been answered in the negative. Even within the pale of the Church they have been answered in the negative. Supernaturalists asserted the absolute necessity of internal supernatural grace to strengthen the intellect for its acquisition of a knowledge of God. Traditionalists held that arguments from reason can do no more than corroborate and confirm the primitive supernatural revelation, handed down by tradition to our own day, concerning the existence of God.

Chief among the Supernaturalists Luther railed at Catholic theologians for recognizing a natural faculty of the intellect competent to argue to a knowledge of God. His heresy was the very opposite to that of Pelagius. The latter so over-rated man's natural powers as to deny the necessity for grace even in the supernatural order. The former so under-rated man's natural powers as to assert the necessity for grace even in the natural order. Sin, Luther contended, has warped and weakened both intellect and will, so that in his fallen nature man can no longer connaturally either know or love God.\* Calvin and the other sectaries followed suit and denied the possibility of a knowledge of God without supernatural grace.† Then the Jansenists undertook the defence of this error, and went even further in their depreciation of man's natural powers. Among the famous 101 propositions culled from the works of the notorious Jansenist, Pasquier Quesnel, and condemned as heretical by Pope Clement XI.‡ were the two following

All knowledge of God, even natural knowledge, even that possessed by the Pagan philosophers, can come only from God, and without grace is only presumption, vanity, and opposition to God.

\* Cf. Doellinger, "Reformation," i., 437.

† Cf. Bellarmine, "Controv. de gratia et lib. arb.," iv., 2.

‡ In the Bull *Unigenitus*, on September 8th, 1713.

And again :—

What else can there be in us but darkness, wandering, and sin, if we have not the light of faith, &c.

This error has died hard, if it can even now be said to be dead. On the 8th September, 1840, pressure was put on Bautain, a priest and professor of theology at Strasburg, to subscribe to the following thesis, of which he had been publicly teaching the contradictory :—

The use of reason precedes faith, and leads man to faith by aid of revelation and grace.

Among the later Traditionalists Cardinal de Bonald\* maintained that the human race has not, and cannot have, any rational knowledge of God, except such as was implanted in it with the gift of speech and has been handed down by tradition. The basis of this opinion was the curious view that ideas spring from words, not words from ideas. The unhappy Lamennais taught that all natural knowledge of God and of the moral order springs from a primitive revelation, and that the medium by which to gauge the contents of this revelation, and the one criterion of the truth of it, is the consensus of the race.† Ventura modified this opinion so far as to allow that God's existence can be proved from reason, but only if faith has preceded—understanding by 'faith' an assent based on the word of our elders.‡ Finally, M. Bonnetty, the learned editor of the *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, having in his defence of Traditionalism branded as veiled rationalism the common teaching of Catholic theologians as to the natural power of man's unaided reason to attain to a knowledge of God, had submitted to him for signature (June 15th, 1855) the following proposition :—

The method used by St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure, and by other subsequent scholastics does not lead to rationalism; neither was it the cause why in the Schools of to-day philosophy borders on Naturalism and Pantheism, &c.§

\* *Recherches philosophiques sur les premiers objets des connaissances morales*, 1840.

† *Essai sur l'indifférence en matière de religion*.

‡ *La ragione filosofica e la ragione cattolica*. Conferenze del Gioacchino Ventura.

§ *The Church has condemned the doctrine of the absolute and physical necessity of revelation for a knowledge of God. But to prevent misconcep-*



After this brief historical summary which will help to clear the ground, we can now address ourselves directly to the question under discussion. Does theology then declare there are rational arguments to prove God's existence? And, if so, does it teach that these proofs are of such a nature as, of themselves, to produce certainty? Finally, does it affirm that every man lies under a strict moral obligation to know and accept these proofs? To these questions theology—Scripture, the Fathers, the Councils—replies with a most unmistakable and emphatic affirmative.

And first as to the declarations of Scripture. Two classes of arguments are put forward in Holy Writ as leading to a knowledge of God, the historical and the cosmological.

The historical argument—which I do not propose to dwell on here—was used at least twice by St. Paul; once, when preaching to the men of Lystra:—

...God who made the heaven, and the earth, and the sea, and all things that are in them; who in times past suffered all nations to walk in their own ways. Nevertheless, he left not himself without testimony, doing good from heaven, giving rains and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness.\*

And again in the Areopagus at Athens:—

God it is who giveth to all life and breath and all things, and hath made of one, all mankind to dwell upon the face of the earth, determining appointed times and the limits of their habitation, that they should seek God, if haply† they may feel after Him or find Him, although He be not far from every one of us; for in Him we live and move and are.‡

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tion it may be well to add that the Vatican Council defined the *moral and relative necessity* of it, in these words: *To divine revelation is due the fact that, about those things concerning God which are not of their own nature above the reach of human reason, all men can, in the present condition of mankind, have knowledge that is easily acquired, perfectly certain, and unmixed with error. Nevertheless, revelation is not, on this account, to be called absolutely necessary.*—*Constat. I. Cap 2, De Revel.*

\* Acts xiv., 14—16.

† Acts xvii., 25—28.

‡ Bengel writes on "if haply" —"The way lies open. God is ready to be found, but He does not compel a man. He wishes him to be free in such a way as that when a man seeks and finds God, this in respect to God may be an *actus purus*, so to speak, a contingent act. The particle implies that the attempt is easy."

The verb "feel after him" implies a groping in the dark along the wall. *Benedictine* says —"If haply they may feel after Him, i.e., if perchance



In these texts St. Paul had in mind the secondary causes of the physical order, which in the guiding hand of God minister to the preservation and well-being of mankind. These things without intellect move towards an end, and, in the main, towards the best end.\* This is evident from the uniformity of their operation. It is equally evident that motion towards an end must have an intellectual superintending cause. What is this cause? It cannot be the non-intellectual brute creation, animate or inanimate. This cause can only be God. St. Paul had also in mind the history of the nations of the earth, a history so ordained by God that in the course of events men could not but see the divine element underlying and showing through the human. "Who in times past suffered all nations to walk in their own ways, *nevertheless he left not Himself without testimony.*" What was this testimony? "Doing good from heaven, giving rains and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness." And this with the purpose that men "should seek God if haply they may feel after or find Him." Lastly, the apostle alludes to the benevolent Providence of God that guides and directs the life of each individual man: "He is not far from each of us, for in Him we live, and move, and are." St. Paul therefore sets forth a triple aspect of God's paternal guardianship of man; He guides the brute creation, animate and inanimate to a definite end for the good of man; He moulds the history of nations; He shapes the life of the individual. The conclusion to be drawn from all this is too obvious to need expression and the Apostle does not express it. Man is shown to be a dependent being; he has a guardian, and is therefore a ward—with the duties and obligations of a ward. And he knows his own dependence, for in every man, in full possession of his reason, there is begotten as it were spontaneously and

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they may grasp Him with the hand. He made all these things to give them an opportunity of finding Him, as it were, by touch. For from the works of creation it is with the greatest ease that the existence of the Creator and All Ruler can be known." This natural knowledge of God from creatures is obscure, not absolutely but relatively; that is, as compared with the immediate vision of God in heaven. "We see now through a glass in a dark manner, but then face to face." (I. Cor. xiii., 12). If a man gropes along the wall, he is certain to reach the door at last.

\* It should be borne in mind that in the finite order there is no such thing as an absolute best. God, in Genesis, saw that creation was "very good,"—*but not the best.* Nothing but the infinite can be the best, and no creature, *inasmuch as it is a creature,* can be infinite.

inevitably an obscure and confused knowledge of a Supreme Being watching over and caring for him, so that he is led to grope after God and to find Him more clearly and more explicitly through a consideration of the manifold blessings of Divine Providence.

We now pass on to a consideration of the Scriptural testimony to the value of the physical or cosmological argument for God's existence. The primary classical text on the subject is Romans i., 18—25:—

18. For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and injustice of those men that detain the truth of God in injustice. 19 Because that which is known of God is manifest in them. For God hath manifested it unto them. 20. For the invisible things of Him, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made; His eternal power also and divinity; so that they are unexcusable. 21 Because that, when they knew God, they have not glorified Him as God, or given thanks; but became vain in their thoughts, and their foolish heart was darkened. 22. For professing themselves to be wise they became fools. 23 And they changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of the image of a corruptible man, and of birds and of four-footed beasts, and of creeping things. 24. Wherefore God gave them up to the desires of their heart unto uncleanness to dishonour their own bodies among themselves. 25. Who changed the truth of God into a lie; and worshipped and served the creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed for ever. Amen.

And the Old Testament (Wisdom xiii., 1—10) makes a similar declaration not less conclusive:—

But all men are vain in whom there is not the knowledge of God; and who, by these good things that are seen, could not understand Him that is, neither by attending to the works have acknowledged who was the workman. 2 But have imagined either the fire, or the wind, or the swift air, or the circle of the stars, or the great water, or the sun and moon, to be the gods that rule the world. 3. With whose beauty if they being delighted took them to be gods; let them know how much the Lord of them is more beautiful than they; for the first author of beauty made all those things. 4 Or if they admired their power and their effects, let them understand by them that He that hath made them is mightier than they. 5 For by the greatness of the beauty, and of the creature, the Creator of them may be seen, so as to be known thereby. 6. But yet [it may be objected] as to these they are less to be blamed. For they perhaps err, seeking God and desirous to find Him. 7. For being conversant among His works, they search; and they are persuaded that

the things are good which are seen. 8. But then again [it is answered] they are not to be pardoned. 9. For if they were able to know so much as to make a judgment of the world: how did they not more easily find out the Lord thereof. 10. But unhappy are they and their hope is among the dead . . . \*

These texts speak for themselves. They are certainly cogent and convincing enough. However, to draw them out a little, four things should be made clear from them. The Traditionalists, as has been said, contend that the rational arguments for God's existence do not prove, but only confirm, the supernatural revelation of that existence; and that human reason, apart from revelation, is incompetent to refute Pantheism. The first point then to make good is that, in these texts, the

\* These two texts are so alike that it is difficult to believe St. Paul had not this chapter of Wisdom in mind when he penned his first chapter to the Romans. The following arrangement shows the parallelism.

## WISDOM XIII.

Verse.

1. All men are vain in whom there is not the knowledge of God.

2. Who by these good things that are seen could not understand Him th. t is, neither by attending to the works have acknowledged who was the workman, but have imagined either the fire, &c., to be the go's that rule the world.

3-4. With whose beauty if they being delighted took them to be gods, let them know how much the Lord of them is more beautiful than they . . . or if they admired their power and their effects, let them understand by them that He that made them is mightier than they.

5. For by the greatness of the beauty, and of the creature, the Creator of them may be seen so as to be known thereby.

8. They are not to be pardoned.

9. For if they were able to know so much as to make a judgment of the world [to make a thorough study of the visible world], how did they not more easily find out the Lord thereof? The introductory proposition of Wisdom (verse 1) is identical with the final conclusion of Romans (verse 21)—viz., that ignorance of God is vanity.

## ROMANS I.

Verse.

18. For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against . . . men who detain the truth of God in injustice.

22-23. Professing themselves to be wise they became fools. And they changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of the image of a corruptible man, and of birds, &c. And they liked not to have God in their knowledge.

19. Because that which is known [knowable] of God is manifest in them. For God hath manifested it unto them.

20. For the invisible things of Him, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, &c.

20. They are inexcusable.

21. Because that when they knew God, they have not glorified Him as God, or given thanks; but became vain in their thoughts, and their foolish heart was darkened.



inspired writers understand by "God," a Supreme Being endowed with intellect and will, distinct from the world, to whom the rational creature owes divine honour. In one word, a personal God must be the material object of the demonstration. Again, the Ontologists maintain that our knowledge of God is immediate and intuitive—a false and delusive philosophy destructive of the position it is meant to defend. The second point, therefore, to establish is that the rational arguments for God's existence are *à posteriori* and deductive, are an intellectual ascent from creature to Creator. That is, the created universe must be the objective principle of the demonstration. Furthermore, against Supernaturalists holding the intrinsic incapacity of man's mind to know God at all, if not fortified by internal supernatural grace, it must be proved thirdly that the sacred writers postulate no such grace but confine themselves to the natural order pure and simple. Hence the subjective principle of the demonstration must be the connatural unaided light of human reason. Fourthly and lastly it remains to be shown that the Sacred Scriptures claim for these rational arguments adduced to prove God's existence, not merely that they have a presumption in their favour, not merely that they have about them a show and semblance of truth, not merely that they are reasonable, or plausible, or specious, or highly probable; but that they are practically and overwhelmingly certain.

I. The material object of the demonstration is a personal, not a pantheistic God. This indeed is evident from the context as well as from the drift and purpose of the writers. For St. Paul lays down, not only that the Gentiles had the means to know God generically "by the things that are made," but also specifically that they could make acquaintance with His Eternity and Power and Divinity, "His eternal power also and divinity" (v. 20). Moreover the apostle (v. 21) upbraids the nations for not having glorified God nor given Him thanks—an unreasonable complaint if the God of St. Paul were an entity indistinct from creation, void both of intellect and of will. Indeed the very point of the complaint was that the recognition, glory, and worship due to the personal God had been transferred to impersonal, brute, and inanimate deities, "And



they changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of the image of a corruptible man, and of birds, &c. . . . And they changed the truth of God into a lie and worshipped and served the creature rather than the Creator."

Nor is the Wise Man less emphatic in his account of the personal character of the Creator. He calls God, "Him that Is" (*i.e.* Essential Being) \*—the "Artificer of the world" (v. 1), "the Lord of the world" (v. 9)—predicates that effectually differentiate God from the world created by God. Like St. Paul, he sets off this Artificer against the spurious deities whom the world worshipped, jibing with infinite contempt and scorn at these soulless divinities, "But unhappy are they and their hope is among the dead who have called gods the work of the hands of men, gold and silver, the inventions of art, and the resemblances of beasts, or an unprofitable stone the work of an ancient hand." (v. 10). Such worshippers "are not to be pardoned." Hence against pantheistic views he speaks with no faltering tongue. Blameworthy and stuffed with folly he holds them to be who confound God with the world and identify Him with things made, who close their eyes to the patent fact that the Creator is distinct from the work of His own hands.

II. The objective principle of the demonstration is the world, and not supernatural revelation. This meaning is demanded by the obvious sense of St. Paul. For the purpose of the apostle is to show that all men, Jew and Gentile, are alike guilty before God. All, he argues, had it in their power to know God and to know the Moral Law, and yet they had failed to honour and worship the one or to regulate human life according to the dictates of the other. Then, to forestall an objection of the Gentiles that they, having received no revelation like the Jews, had sinned from ignorance, St. Paul puts aside the excuse and emphatically declares that God and His Law are naturally knowable from created things alone without any supernatural manifestation.

Nor is this sense less evident in "Wisdom." The drift of

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\* Cf the etymological meaning of Jehovah; as also Apoc. 1. 4. "Him that is and that was, and that is to come;" and Exod. iii., 14. "God said to Moses: *I am who am.*"

the writer is this; All men are blameworthy who know not God—all, even those who live under no light of supernatural revelation. For it is an easy thing for all men to find out God. It is a plain ascent from visible things that are good to the Invisible Good, to "Him who Is" (v. 1)—from works to workman—from reflected beauty to the Source of beauty (v. 3)—from created power to Power Increate (v. 4)—from creature to Creator (v. 5).

To express this in another way. An object of knowledge can be actually known only in so far as it actually manifests itself to the mind. Without this self-exhibition it might be knowable, it would not be known. To the ancients who thought the earth was flat the antipodes were knowable, but unknown. Now this self-manifestation may be made in two ways. An object may be its own evidence, by itself, immediately—as, for example, a fire when you look into it. And it may manifest itself only mediately through another, through the medium of something else previously known—as smoke reveals the presence of fire, or, in general terms, as an effect reveals the existence of its cause. The Scriptures plainly teach that God is naturally evident to human reason; not indeed immediately, for the immediate vision of God "not as in a glass darkly, but face to face" is a supernatural grace bestowed only in the Beatific Vision; but mediately through creatures as such, by knowing them as an effect and thus ascending to a knowledge of their Cause, the Creator; "That which is known is manifest in them," that which is objectively knowable becomes subjectively known, "for God hath manifested it unto them," hath made Himself actually known. And the Apostle tells us the manner of this manifestation. "for the invisible things of Him are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made."\* Hence God who

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\* Many modern commentators (v.g. Alford) understand "from the creation of the World" to refer to time; for this reason that, if it referred to the cause of man's knowledge of God, the words "by the things that are made" would be tautological. The reason assigned seems incorrect. It is a view at least tenable that "from the creation" (meaning from created things) is the starting point, the terminus a quo of cognition; while, "by the things that are made," is exegetical of "creation," is the formal cause of cognition, and expresses the precise aspect under which "creation" must be apprehended, namely, as an effect. For the mind can rise from "creation" to "Creator," only on condition that it knows "creation" as such, i.e., as a thing (or collec-

of Himself and in His substance is naturally unintelligible to weak human reason,—not from defect but from excess of intelligibility,\* manifests Himself and His attributes—His Eternity, His Power, His Divinity—by the intelligible effects of which He is the cause. Now, it is the very point of the complaint made by the apostle and by the author of "Wisdom" that man has prostituted his reason and refused to see that 'creation' is an effect, is the synthesis of "things that are made." For "these good things that are seen" ("Wisdom," xiii., 1) are defective and therefore caused. The "works" participate in reality, but only the "Workman" is pure reality ("He who Is"). For the "works" are limited, and pure reality is without limit. Creatures are, for example, living; but they are not life. The brute has the life of brute animality, but it is a life restricted to this particular grade, it is non-intellectual life, it is life limited in excellence, limited in duration. It shares largely in reality, but it shares more largely still in unreality. There is much that it has; but there is incalculably more that it has not. Where then is the fountain-head of reality whereof each creature is a rill? What is the reason that limited being is real, but not reality; living, but not life; powerful, just, merciful, wise, but not power, nor justice, nor mercy, nor wisdom? What then, is the cause of limited being? Not limited being itself. For, because it is limited, it is not self-existent; not self-existent, and therefore not its own cause. Limited being has, therefore, a cause outside itself, self-existent, unlimited, infinite. And such a cause in God.

In the study we are engaged on, two distinct questions present themselves for solution, and are solved in different ways. "Is there a God?" "What is God?" As we have seen, the imperfection of the creature solves the former question, for the finite implies the Infinite. To answer the

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tion of things) "*made*." In this very obvious sense was the text interpreted by the Greek Fathers who may be allowed to have understood their own tongue, by Basil, *ep 235 ad Amphil*; Theodoret in *h. l*; Cyril of Alex. in *Is. 13. 12. p615*; Gregory of Nyssa. *c. Eunom. 12. 346*; Chrysostom. *De Diab. Tent. Hom 2. n 3*.

\* Aristotle distinguishes between "things more knowable in themselves" and "things more knowable to us." (*Prior. Anal. 1. 2*) and points out that *the more an object is intelligible in itself the less is it intelligible to us because further removed from sensible perception.* The sun at mid-day is a plain object to see, but not to the owl.



latter, we must turn from the negative to the positive side of creation, from what the creature is not, to what the creature is, from its imperfections to its perfections. For as these imperfect things, by virtue of their very imperfection, point to One more perfect, higher and nobler than themselves, and clamour (like Paul and Barnabas to the Lycaonians) "We are not thy God, seek higher;" so on the other hand, do they, by virtue of their perfection—by their beauty, or power, or wisdom, or justice, or love—point the finger to One from whom all these attributes are derived, and in whom all these qualities are combined, who is Absolute Beauty, Absolute Power, Absolute Wisdom, and Justice and Love.\* This is the drift of the Wise Man's discourse:

With whose beauty if they being delighted took them (creatures) to be gods, let them know how much the Lord of them is more beautiful than they. If they admired their power . . . He that made them is mightier than they (v. 8. 4.)

The perfections of these imperfect "works" are but a shadow of the infinite excellence, and yet a shadow revealing substance.

Ask now the beasts and they will teach thee; and the birds of the air, and they shall tell thee. Speak to the earth and it shall answer thee, and the fishes of the sea shall tell. Who is ignorant that the hand of the Lord hath made all these things.†

This twofold aspect of creatures, their perfection and their imperfection, is alluded to in that most beautiful verse of the psalm (xviii, 1).

The heavens [by their magnificence] show forth the glory of God; and the firmament [by its want of absolute perfection] declareth the work of his hands.

In all this neither inspired writer speaks of, or pre-supposes, or implies a primitive supernatural revelation made to man by God about Himself. The Scriptures give no jot or tittle of support to Traditionalism.

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\* "God is love." 1 John 4 8.

† Job xii, 7-9.



III. The subjective principle of the demonstration of God's existence is, not supernatural grace, but the natural light of the human understanding. This is roundly asserted by St. Paul in so many words, "for the invisible things of him are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made" so that between God and the world made by God, there is that intimate link, bond, and connection by virtue of which the existence of God is legitimately inferred from the existence of the world—a nexus so obvious that those who shut their eyes to it "are inexcusable" (v. 20.) And the Wise Man is equally positive on the point, as a glance at the scope of his chapter will show. St. Paul had contented himself with the general statement that man can, and ought, from the existence of the creature to argue by the natural light of reason to the existence of the Creator. But the author of "Wisdom" goes into detail; he sketches out the main outlines of the argument. The proposition he sets himself to prove is this, "All men are nought who know not God," (v. 1.)\* and in support of his thesis he contends that a knowledge of the existence and perfections of the universe can and ought to lead to a knowledge of the existence and perfections of God. He shows us what the starting point is from which the mind sets out to investigate, insists on the simplicity of the process, and indicates the goal at which it quickly arrives.

## STARTING POINT.

## TERMINUS

These good things that are seen (v. 1.) lead man	{	to understand Him who Is. (v. 1).
Attending to the "works" (v. 1.) leads man		to acknowledge the "work- man" (v. 1).
Delight in the world's beauty (v. 3) leads man	{	to know how much more beautiful is the Lord of the world (v. 3)
Admiration at the power and effi- cacy of created things (v. 4)		leads man { to grasp the idea how their Maker is mightier than they (v. 4).

And having thus set forth the logical connection between this visible universe and the invisible Maker thereof, the Wise Man concludes (as did St. Paul) that those who worship the

\* The Greek text reads, "Fools are all men by nature in whom there is habitual ignorance of God;" "by nature" that is, "by abuse of the natural faculty of reason" This is parallel with St. Paul's "became vain (the Greek is *became fools*) in their thoughts." v. 21

creature, bewitched by the beauty of it, are without excuse (v. 8). Unhappy are they and their hope is among the dead (v. 10), because the same reasoning faculty that enabled them to study and appreciate the universe should have led them, still more easily, to a knowledge of the existence and perfections of the Lord of this universe; for if they were able to know so much as to make a judgment of the world, how did they not more easily find out the Lord thereof (v. 9).

Supernaturalism—or the doctrine that man without supernatural help cannot know God—has, therefore, no basis in Scripture.

IV. On the fourth point—that Scripture claims real certainty for the rational arguments in proof of God's existence there is no need to dwell. According to St. Paul the reasoning in question is in its evidence so convincing and entirely irresistible that the unbelievers "who professed themselves to be wise, became fools," and were "inexcusable." And the New Testament does but, on this point, re-echo the Old, for the Wise Man had beforehand said of them that they were "inane," "unhappy," their "hope is among the dead," "they are not to be pardoned."

Such is the emphatic teaching of Scripture. The same doctrine is put forward in a not less uncompromising way, and if possible still more emphatically, by the Greek and Latin Fathers. To a student of patristic learning, the traditional teaching on the following heads will be abundantly clear; first, that this visible universe is a natural manifestation of God, appealing to man's unaided reason; secondly, that this objective manifestation, and the subjective power of the mind to grasp, realise, and appropriate it, are of such a character that in all men, arrived at the full use of reason, there arises—as it were, spontaneously—a knowledge of God at least confused and indistinct, thirdly, that to develop this primitive cognition, to make it full and explicit, to render it clear and distinct, there are ample means at hand—whether we consider the native powers of the human understanding itself or the traces of God in creation—to enable the mind to mount from creature to Creator.

But it may be well to recall to mind that the Fathers recognize and insist on two separate and distinct stages in the natural knowledge of God; the one, obscure, confused, and more or less spontaneous, which impels a reasoning man to examine further; the other, clear, distinct, reflex and philosophical. Of course this philosophical knowledge presupposes a trained and educated mind. It presupposes an intellect cultured enough to grasp the essential dependence of the universe, to understand what contingent being is, and to realise how the finite, imperfect, created implies of necessity the Infinite, Perfect, Self-existent. It presupposes a power to appreciate the "greatness of the beauty of the world," its unity in multiplicity, the marvellous subordination of the vast and the tiny, the gigantic and the microscopic to their proximate, mediate, and final ends. It presupposes a capacity to analyze and synthesize the "works," and thus elaborate and "pick out" a clearer notion of the "Workman." Such a study is not necessarily a process merely *à posteriori*. For when the existence of a First Cause has once been demonstrated *à posteriori* from contingent being, than by an *à priori* method, by a study of the intrinsic and essential constitution of Necessary Being, we can arrive at a more elaborate and explicit knowledge of God. The subtle-minded Augustine, when he fell to the contemplation of "What God is," betook himself to the metaphysical order; he sifted eternal and immutable truth as it reveals itself in mathematics and the other sciences; he analyzed the ideas of wisdom, justice, truth, goodness; he examined into the metaphysical laws which—rooted in the divine essence, though independent of all will, even the divine—rule and govern not only the actual but the possible; and by these means he strove to gain an extended view of the Truth, Wisdom, and Substantial Goodness which are the foundation and exemplar of the whole metaphysical and notional order, as well as the Cause of the light of reason by which we understand that order. Such a study is obviously beset with difficulties and though within the *physical* competence of all men it is within the *moral* and practical capacity of few. Hence the reasonableness of the dogmatic decree of the Vatican Council.\* That to super-

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\* Quoted above, p. 3, note S.



natural revelation it is due that *all* men can know God *easily, with certainty, and without admixture of error.*

But it is with the non-philosophical knowledge of God we are here concerned. The Fathers teach, with striking unanimity, that, besides and prior to the knowledge of God acquired by scientific demonstration, there is a knowledge of the divine existence common to all men who have not quenched the torch of reason within them. That in a paper like this there is not space for more than a few specimen passages from patristic writings, such as strike the keynote of tradition on the subject, is sufficiently obvious. For the argument to the existence of God is repeated, inculcated, and driven home on every possible occasion by practically every Father from Justin to Bernard, and a complete catena would fill a volume.\*

The Fathers pre-suppose the existence of God as a first principle, which no man in his wits would question. Clement of Alexandria, who (be it noted) had a perfect acquaintance with the life, manners, and literature of contemporary Paganism, writes:—

Peradventure the proof of God's existence ought not even to be undertaken since His Providence is plain to be seen from a glance at His works—works full of art, and wisdom, and order, and method. But He who gave us being and life gave us also reason, and willed us to live according to that reason (and not to ignore our Maker).

And again:—

God, our Parent and the Creator of all things, is seen in all things through the inborn power of the mind and without instruction, by all men, Greeks and foreigners. But no class of men—bucolic, nomad, or city resident—can fail to have their minds filled with one and the same primitive conviction of the being of Him who set up the world.†

The Fathers again testify most unmistakably to the value of the theistic argument. St. John Chrysostom, commenting on the classical passage from St. Paul to Romans,‡ writes:—

Whence, O Paul, is it known that God implanted this knowledge of Himself in the nations? Because (saith he) *that which is known of God is manifest in them.* This, however, is assertion, not proof. But do thou

\* Cf. Petavius "De Ueo," l. 1; Kleutgen, "Theologie der Vorzeit," tom. 2.

† "Strom." v., 547-612.

‡ "Rom." 3.



demonstrate to me and make it clear that the knowledge of God was manifest in them, and that with open eyes they turned aside. Whence, then, was it manifest? Did He send them a voice from above? Not at all. But he made what attracted more than any voice. He created and set this universe before their eyes, so that wise man and witling, Scythian and barbarian, being penetrated through sight with the beauty of things seen, could mount up to God. Wherefore he hath it: *the invisible things, &c.* What, too, saith the prophet? *The heavens declare the glory of God.* What excuse, then, shall the nations make in the day of wrath? We knew Thee not? Knew Me not! Heard ye nought, then, telling of Me? Not the firmament proclaiming Me by its aspect? No harmonies and symphonies of the trumpet-tongued universe? None of the unchanging, everstable laws of day and night, with the fixed and goodly order of winter, spring, and the other seasons, together with the sea, ever tractable amid all its billows and its turbulence? Knew ye not of all these things, abiding in their order, preaching aloud the Creator by their beauty and their magnificence? All this, forsooth, and more doth the text of Paul sum up as in a nutshell.

Theophilus of Antioch enforces the same doctrine by an apt similitude:—

As the soul of man is itself invisible to men, but is perceived by the movement of the body; so, in like manner, God cannot be seen by the human eye, but is known by His providence and His works.

The Fathers moreover teach, with equal clearness, that this knowledge of God's existence is easy and accessible to all men who have not warped and debased their reason. So Augustine:—

Such is the force of true divinity that from the rational creature with full use of his faculties God cannot be wholly and entirely hidden; for, (excepting a few in whom human nature is too degraded) the whole race of men confesses God the Maker of the world.\*

Gregory the Great puts it pithily:—

Every rational man—from the very fact that he is rational—ought to gather from reason that his Maker is God.†

And Chrysostom, with his golden eloquence:—

Silent is the firmament, but its very aspect is more than trumpet-tongued in its appeal, not to ear but to eye. Scythian and barbarian, Indian and Egyptian, and every earth-treading man will hear this voice . . . and whithersoever he goeth, by gazing on the sky, will find instruction enough in the look of it.‡

\* In Jo. 106, n. 4. † Moral I 27, c. 5, n. 8.

‡ Hom. 9, ad pop, Antioch n. 2.

Nor can a man, according to patristic teaching, shut his eyes to God's existence. He can debauch and prostitute his reason and thus in the end cheat and deceive himself, but as Tertullian emphatically expresses it:—

No man denies - for no man is blind to what nature itself suggests - that God made the universe.\*

And in the same sense Gregory Nazianzen uses words almost too strong for the politeness of modern ears:—

That God exists as the chief and primal Cause, Originator, and Preserver of all things is a fact made patent both by external nature and by natural law . . . Too dull and drivelling assuredly is the man who does not by himself attain to this degree of knowledge.

As a natural corollary of this teaching the Fathers hold the knowledge of God to be universal. This is sufficiently apparent from the foregoing extracts which may, however, be supplemented by another from Tertullian, where addressing Pagans on the proofs of God's existence, he says:—

I call in a fresh witness . . . Stand thou forth, O soul, in open court . . . Not thee do I summon who hast been formed in the schools, trained in libraries, a frequenter of porches and academies, a babbler of crude wisdom. I address a soul, simple, rustic, unpolished, homely, such a soul as they have who have only thee; such a soul as we meet on the road, in the highways, at the shops of artizans. I have need of thy inexperience . . . Thou art not, I know, a Christian . . . Nevertheless Christians now demand of thee a testimony. . . . We give offence when we preach God as the One God, under the one name of God, from whom are all things and on whom the universe depends. Bear then witness thou to this description of God, if thou knowest it to be true. For thou too we hear saying openly, at home and abroad, with a freedom denied to us, *May God grant it, and If God wills it*. In such like words dost thou declare there is some God and makeest confession of His Omnipotence to whose will thou dost appeal; and at the same time thou dost deny the rest of them to be gods in that thou callest them by their proper names, Saturn, Jove, Mars, Minerva. . . . Thou affirmest also that He alone is God whom alone thou callest by the name of God. . . . Neither art thou ignorant of the nature of God whom we preach. *God is good* is thine own expression.†

Many Fathers go even further still. In teaching that the

\* De Spectac., c. 2.

† De testimon. animæ c. i. 7.

existence of God can be deduced from His works they seem so to exaggerate the facility and universality of the deduction as to reduce it almost to a simple intuition. They speak of this knowledge as "innate." Tertullian says:—

Evidence of a soul *naturally* Christian! The soul's consciousness of God from the beginning is a *gift*.§

And John Damascene:—

Not, however, in ignorance of Himself, utter and entire, hath God suffered us to be wrapped. For there is no man alive in whom the knowledge of God hath not been *naturally* implanted.†

Not of course that the word "innate" is used in the Kantian sense of "subjective form," nor yet in that of the School of "Innate Ideas." The word is a rhetorical exaggeration to express the simple, easy, and almost imperceptible process of reasoning which leads up to the knowledge of God. That the Fathers never meant to deny that there is some process of reasoning, and therefore an *acquisition* of this knowledge, the foregoing citations amply prove. "Innate" therefore in this patristic sense is opposed, not to "acquired," but rather to that reflex, philosophical knowledge begotten of study and meditation, and especially to that fuller, surer, and more perfect knowledge of God imparted to the world by supernatural revelation.

The teaching then of patristic theology touching the value of the arguments for God's existence is most emphatic and unmistakable. The Fathers declare the knowledge of God to be accessible to all men, to be easily acquired, to be all but innate; and for the agnostic they can hardly find strong enough words of condemnation. Their teaching then reiterates, explains, and developes the teaching of Holy Writ.

Moreover precisely the same doctrine is inculcated by the great Doctors and Theologians, by the Franciscan Bonaventure,‡ by the Dominican Aquinas,§ by the Jesuit Suarez.|| St. Thomas stigmatises the opposite opinion as "falsity and error."

And last of all the teaching formulated in Scripture, elabo-

\* "Apol." c. 17.

† "Fid. Orthod." I. 1.

‡ "In. Sent." 1.3.2.

§ "Cont. Gent." 1, 12.

|| "Metaph." D. 27. 8.3.



rated by the Fathers, explained by the Doctors of the Church and defended by her Theologians, is enunciated also in the Councils. The Vatican Council defined as follows:—

Holy Mother Church holds and teaches that God—Beginning and End of all things—can, through created things, be known, with certainty, by the natural light of human reason. *For the invisible things of Him, &c.* (Rom. I. 20.)

And again in the first canon appended to the chapter of which the above is part:—

If anyone should say that God—One and True, our Creator and Lord—cannot be known, with certainty, by the things that are made, through the natural light of human reason, let him be anathema.

It will hardly be denied that these two dogmatic declarations are to the point. Short, clear-cut, unambiguous, they clinch the argument and leave no margin for cavil or evasion. As far as Catholics are concerned they have given the deathblow to Trinitarianism and Supernaturalism. These opinions are now formally heretical.

And now we have the theological evidence before us on which to ground a judgment as to whether or not an agnostic can in his Agnosticism, be conscientious and in good faith. But first let us put the issue simply and clearly. Let us put aside complicating and subordinate considerations. We are not, then, here debating at what age the full use of reason is reached and the obligation incurred of acknowledging God. We do not here deny there may be individuals, or even whole nations, so brutalised and degraded as to be adult indeed in body, but dwarfed and stunted in mind below the normal stature of man and thus exempt from the responsibilities of men. Nor do we here enter on the further enquiry whether for a brief period after reaching the full use of reason a man can, without sin, be ignorant of God. But let the question be limited to this. Does theology recognize the possibility that a man can be in good faith who disbelieves in God, with open eyes and after consideration, and that actually and at heart and for a considerable time; in a society such as we know it;



in a society which affords a great variety of aids and helps, human and divine, external and internal, to acquire a knowledge of God; where he has consciously before him the order, beauty, and design of the universe, where he is impelled by introspection, or by self-examination, or by wonder, or by terror, or by penury, or by sickness, or by danger, or by sorrow, or by qualms of conscience to propose to himself these questions: "Where did this universe spring from?" "Who and what am I?" "Whence came I?" "Whither am I going?" What then is the verdict of theology on the good faith of such an atheist, or—to use the fashionable jargon—of such an agnostic, for new agnostic is but old atheist writ large? And what degrees of sympathy does theology allow us to extend to the unbeliever who declares he has not sufficient data to argue to God's existence, but proclaims:—

There is nothing irrational in contending that the evidences of Theism are inconclusive, that its doctrines are unintelligible, or that it fails to account for the facts of the universe or is irreconcilable with them.\*

The verdict of theology on such an one is undoubtedly an unqualified condemnation. The Scriptures condemn him. The Doctors concur in the condemnation. All the great theologians emphasize the condemnation. The Fathers condemn and upbraid him. The Councils condemn and anathematize him. He may plead "not guilty," but the plea is disallowed. His advocate may ransack the heavens above and the earth beneath for "extenuating circumstances," but they are waived aside as fictitious. In neither Testament, Old or New, is there any trace or shadow of excuse to be found for him. Not a word of it in the long catena of the Fathers. No mention of it in the Doctors. No faint allusion to it in the carefully qualified decisions of the Church. In the Old Testament "all men are nought in whom there is ignorance of God . . . unhappy are they and their hope is among the dead . . . they are not to be pardoned." The New Testament on this head reproduces and enforces the teaching of the Old. The Sophists of Greece and the philosophers of Rome, when they ignored God, "professing themselves to be wise, became fools,"

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\* "Huxley's Hume." I. 60.

for in reality "they knew God but glorified him not as God, nor gave him thanks, but became vain in their thoughts and their foolish heart was darkened."

Brief had been the sentence pronounced in "Wisdom" on all unbelievers; "they are not to be pardoned." Equally pithy is that pronounced by St. Paul "they are inexcusable." The Fathers concur. To Augustine a man who knows not God has "a warped and distorted nature:" to Gregory Nazianzen he is "a dullard and a driveller": to Cyprian and Tertullian he is "the crown and summit of wickedness."\* Finally the Church, cautious to a degree and ever slow to condemn, confirms the verdict by its declaration and anathema.

So much then for the speculative aspect of Agnosticism. A word now on its practical side. Does theology allow that an agnostic can save his soul? Again the answer must be an emphatic negative. A natural and certain knowledge of God is a necessary condition, preliminary, and foundation of faith, and without faith there is no salvation. An absolutely essential condition of the credibility of faith is God's existence, for faith is assent to God's word and how can there be supernatural assent to the word of one of whose existence we are not naturally certain? That faith is a pre-requisite of salvation is a primary truth of Christianity: "Without faith it is impossible to please God. But he that cometh to God must believe that He is."†

But, it will be asked, may there not be, if not a supernatural, at least a natural beatitude for the agnostic who observes faithfully all the precepts of the natural law? If he can have no part in the Beatific Vision, can never be an "adopted son of God," can never "see God face to face," may he not at least expect a share in the happiness of those who, though never raised by sanctifying grace to the supernatural order, yet at the same time have never offended God by a grievous and deliberate violation of the law of natural morality? May not the agnostic of pure life expect after death to enjoy a place at least, in the Limbo of unbaptized infants? Again the

\* Tertul. Apol. c. 17. Cyprian De Idol Vanit. c. 9

† Heb. 11. 6.

answer can only be in the negative. For the adult—adult in mind as in body—there is no middle place between Hades and Heaven. The question is based on a false supposition. To be an agnostic is, in itself, by the very fact, the most grievous of all violations of the Moral Law. For the primary precept of the Natural Law is to recognise the existence of the Lawgiver and “it is the very zenith and apex of depravity not to know Him whom thou canst not ignore.”\* God wills all men to be saved and to come to a knowledge of the truth,† And hence He, of necessity, gives to each the graces natural and supernatural to acquire that knowledge. Whoso therefore neglects this will of God commits grievous sin and shuts himself out from all reward, natural or supernatural.

Whether agnostics are to be taken at their word and regarded as men who in the main do keep the Commandments, and live moral and upright lives, is a question which this is not the place to discuss.‡ A theologian would probably say that as, in practice, so few men constantly observe the law of God even when helped by the more abundant graces given to believers, it becomes morally and practically impossible to keep it for any length of time without that assistance. It is needless to say that as to the state of conscience of this or that individual we have no right at any time to hazard conjectures. Each is answerable, in his own heart, to God alone. But by agnostics as a body, in the general, and viewed precisely as agnostics, the words of St. Paul, in the chapter quoted so often, deserve to be carefully pondered. Writing of a state of society so nearly akin to our own, of the Romans of the age of Nero, learned, cultured, and unbelieving, he says:—

And as they liked not to have God in their knowledge, God delivered them up to a reprobate sense, to do those things which are not convenient.

What these “inconvenient things” were a reference to the chapter will show. And this “reprobate sense” the Apostle describes precisely as a consequence of their sin of unbelief:—

“Wherefore God gave them up to the desires of their heart, &c.

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\* St. Cyprian quoted above. † I. Tim. 2. 4.

‡ F. Kleutgen, a theologian of broad and liberal views, says:—“The knowledge of God is so easily acquired, and so certain that ignorance or doubt on the subject cannot be explained except as springing from *guilty frivolity or arrogant obstinacy*.” *Philosophie der Vorzeit*, vol. i., n. 227.



And again :—

They served the creature rather than the Creator. *For this cause* God delivered them up to shameful affections, &c.

They "liked not to have God in their knowledge," and on that account were "delivered up to a reprobate sense." They were abandoned to the "evil desires of their heart," and they fell into the sensualism of despair. And how could it, logically, be otherwise? For if there be no God, no moral law, no obligations, no sanctions, no eternity of punishment or reward, it is hard to see what else than self-indulgence an agnostic has to care for. His life, at best, can be but very dreary—a mere desert of despair. And he must serve,—man is made to serve— if not the Creator, then the creature. The agnostic replies that he serves his race, lives for the improvement of his race! And what a will-o'-the-wisp this improvement of his race is! John Stuart Mill had set up this Jack-o'-lantern as his guiding star in life and think how he wrote of it in his Autobiography, with what cynicism and bitterness of disappointment! "Suppose" he once said to himself, "all your objects in life were realised, that all the changes in institutions and opinions which you are looking forward to could be completely effected at this very instant—would this be a great joy and happiness to you? And an irrepressible self-consciousness distinctly answered, No."\* If man, or Mankind—the Grand-*être* of Auguste Comte—be the highest attainable object of human hopes and human aspirations, what greater misery than to be haunted by visions of what is better and nobler than man; by glimpses of a truth and goodness and beauty never to be possessed; by strivings after an object which neither earth nor humanity can bestow? If these ideals are a dream, and these longings a delusion—intangible shadows never to be grasped either here or hereafter, there are but two conclusions open to us; either the hopeless and degrading conclusion of German Pessimism that life is a bad thing and cannot too soon be made away with; or that gay and more popular conclusion—adopted by the Romans about whom St. Paul wrote—that there is nothing better for us than to frolic through life, sipping the passing pleasure of the

\* Autob. 133.



hour, in the mood of that Epicurean singer who, having set his heart in turn on wealth, on love, on war, on travel, and on sounding fame, and having tasted the insipidity of them all, concluded—with an older and a greater singer than himself—that they are all vanity and affliction of spirit:—

Now I've set my heart upon nothing you see;  
Hurrah!  
And the whole wide world belongs to me;  
Hurrah!  
The feast begins to run low no doubt,  
But at the old cask we'll have one good bout,  
Come, drink the lees all out.\*

Among the ancient Egyptians there flourished a custom, described by Herodotus† in some such words as these. When a banquet was well advanced and the appetite of the guests was cloyed with abundant meat and their thirst slaked from goodly stores of wine and the revel ran high, a slave entered and carried round to each feaster in turn an open coffin wherein lay a wooden figure carved and painted to represent a corpse; and pointing to this counterfeit presentment he whispered into each reveller's ear, "*Looking on this, drink and be merry; such in death shalt thou become.*"

And not only the worshipper of Isis but the prophet of the Old Law,‡ and the apostle of the New,§ ask of the unbeliever what happiness in life there can be for him except that very mournful *drink and be merry*. The author of "Wisdom,"|| with his keen insight into human nature, has summed up in the same sense the Epicurean reasonings of unbelievers:—

They said, reasoning with themselves, but not right, the time of our life is short and tedious and in the end of a man there is no remedy....for we are born of nothing, and after this we shall be as if we had not been; for the breath in our nostrils is smoke; and speech is a spark...which being put out, our body shall be ashes and our spirit shall be poured abroad as soft air, and our life shall pass away as the trace of a cloud, and shall be dispersed as a mist which is driven away by the beams of the sun. And our name in time shall be forgotten and no man shall have any remembrance of our works. For our time is as the passing of a shadow.....

\* Goethe's *Song of Life*. † Euterpe 78. ‡ Isaiah 22, 13; 56, 12.

§ 1 Cor. 15, 32. || II 1-9.

Come, therefore, and let us enjoy the good things that are present, and let us speedily use the creatures as in youth. Let us fill ourselves with costly wine...and let not the flower of the time pass by us. Let us crown ourselves with roses before they are withered...Let none of us go without his part in luxury; let us everywhere leave tokens of joy. For this is our portion and this is our lot.

St. Paul told the Corinthians:—

If in this life only we have hope in Christ we are of all men most miserable.\*

For the agnostic who has hope neither in Christ nor in God, neither in this life nor in the life to come, these lines of the poet Fletcher aptly point the moral of his existence:—

The world's a labyrinth where unguided men  
Walk up and down to find their weariness.  
No sooner have they measured with much toil  
The crooked path, with hope to gain their freedom,  
But it betrays them to a new affliction.†

CHARLES COUPE, S. J.

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\* 1 Cor. 15, 9.

† The Night-Walker, 4, 6.

## SPANISH SOCIETY IN MODERN FICTION.

1. *Pequeñeces.* Por el Padre Luis Coloma. S.J. Cuarta Edición. Bilbao, 1891.
2. *El P. Coloma y la Aristocracia.* Por Fray Candil (Emilio Bobadilla) Madrid, 1891.
3. *Mariana.* Por Benito Perez-Galdós. Madrid 1888
4. *La Hermana San Sulpicio.* Por Armando Palacio Valdes. Madrid, 1889.

IN no country in Europe has literature from its earliest dawn to the present day, been so exclusively and characteristically national as in Spain. The dictum of a French traveller that "Africa begins at the Pyrenees," sorely as it wounded Spanish susceptibility, rests on a foundation of truth in so far as those mountains have effectually excluded Northern thought from exercising any appreciable influence on the peculiar course of culture in the Peninsula. The Arab element on the other hand which was the main factor in its evolution, entered too largely into the formation of the national character to be reckoned as in any sense a foreign one.

Neither did the possession of a vast Transatlantic dominion react perceptibly on the genius of the Iberian people. The latter did not, like their neighbours, celebrate their discovery and conquest of a new region of the globe in a great national epic. Their mighty empire of 'Ultramar,' or beyond sea, has little place in their poetry or letters, and the adoption of his language in a new hemisphere has given no cosmopolitan expansion to the Spaniard's views of life. So completely, indeed, does he regard his oversea kinsfolk as without the range of his exclusive national sympathies that while the descendants of Spanish colonists and returned emigrants from South America still term themselves Spaniards they are, among the Spaniards at home known only as 'Indians.'

Thus while the literatures of England and North America are, despite political separation, inseparably intertwined in mutual action and reaction, political union, maintained down to the present century, has given no unity of thought to the *ocean-parted branches* of the Spanish race.

But this very isolation, intensifying, while narrowing the sympathies, gives Spanish literature a special value, as the most direct expression of national manners and thought. The unadulterated outcome of native genius, cut off from the infiltration of extrinsic ideas, and unmodified by the modern hybridisation of opinion, has a special interest far higher than that pertaining to the mongrel productions of globe-trotted brains. Thus while the national manners of Spain have by an almost unique exception in literature, been reproduced with incomparable fidelity by a foreign romancer (Le Sage) Spanish genius has preferred to seek its raw material of human nature among its own compatriots. To the modern fiction of the Peninsula we may therefore fairly trust as a guide to its manners, and accept the authors approved by the general consensus of their fellow-countrymen as the authorised limners of the national physiognomy.

Here, as elsewhere in Europe, the two rival schools of romance have struggled for precedence, although the inevitable conflict between old and new set in at a later date than beyond the Pyrenees. The battle between the champions of realism and idealism, begun in Spain about 1875, resulted there too, in the decisive victory of the former. Their leaders for the last ten years have been the two authors who may be said during this recent period, to have directed the modern evolution of Spanish fiction.

Bento Perez-Galdós and Armando Palacio Valdes are the names which come most readily to Spanish lips in answer to enquiries as to their contemporary novelists,—since Juan Valera, although successful in the same field, is more active in that of general literature and criticism. Perez-Galdós, whose name, like that of many of his compatriots, is a combination of those of both parents, is a native of the Canary Islands, having been born at Las Palmas in 1845. He came to Madrid to pursue a legal career, and took his degree in 1869 as licentiate of civil and canon law. But his true bent was not slow to declare itself, and a series of critical essays on music and art contributed to the pages of the "*Revista de España*," procured him the post of editor of that periodical. His first novel, "*La Fontana de Oro*," so entitled from the name of a well-known club in Madrid, published in 1870, was followed



at no long interval by a second, "*El Audaz*." The production of a long series of historical novels, in form and idea resembling those of Erckmann-Chatrian, was his next task. These ten volumes, under the generic name of "*Episodios Nacionales*," are filled by the fictitious autobiography of Gabriel Lopes, who, beginning life in domestic service, acts as page to a retired naval officer, a fashionable actress, and a lady of rank, successively. The romantic part of his career consists of his long attachment and eventful marriage to the daughter of his last employer, originally met by him as a working girl earning her bread in his own class of life, while undergoing one of those temporary eclipses of fortune to which heroines are liable. True love does not, under these circumstances escape the impediments which the adage declares its inevitable penalty, and the hero meantime serves in the army, rising from the ranks to its higher grades, and presenting to the reader the various phases of the Peninsular War, seen by the light of his experiences.

The second series of the "episodes," consisting, like the first, of ten volumes, begins with the expulsion of Joseph Bonaparte, and carries on the subsequent events and revolutions of Spanish history. The tales of this set are, however, less connected in subject, as autobiographical form being abandoned as the vehicle of narration. It was not till 1881 that the author definitely went over to the ranks of the realists, his change of literary belief being dated from the publication of his novel "*La Desheredada*." His later works may therefore be taken as samples of the Spanish rendering of the doctrines of this school, although he is sometimes their exponent from the political rather than the social side of life. Thus "*El Grande Oriente*," published by him in 1885, turns on the complications of plots and secret societies in Madrid in 1821, and while young a striking picture of the subservience to popular dictation even in the administration of justice of the government of that day, has no special value as a delineation of domestic manners.

It is in this respect far surpassed in interest by the author's "*Marianella*," a charming tale of rural life printed in 1888. Here we are transported into the artificial desolation of a mineral country, as the scene is laid among the labyrinthine

mazes and yawning pits of the mines of Socrates in Northern Spain. In this lurid setting is played out a pathetic little drama with a blind man, the son of parents in easy circumstances, and his girl guide, born in a somewhat lower rank of life, as its principal characters. "Nela" or "Marianela," now approaching womanhood, has been from her childhood the devoted companion of the afflicted youth, supplying with quick vision and descriptive speech for the sense sealed to him, and cheering with a song like a linnet's the dreary darkness of his days. Despite his great misfortune, they are happy in an acknowledged mutual attachment, when the chance visit of a skilful oculist to the mines brings about a change in their relative positions. The young man's blindness is pronounced curable and the operation is successfully performed, but with a melancholy result for the poor little heroine. On the removal of the bandage, his eyes, when instinctively turned to seek his guide, fall, not on the faithful Nela, to whom nature has been niggardly of personal attractions, but on a beautiful girl whom he addresses by her name. The charms that flash on his dazzled gaze with the first ray of newly perceived light, are irresistible to his enfranchised nature, and with all his appreciations of life transformed by the intoxicating revelations of the restored sense, he transfers his affections to their new object unrestrained by gratitude or good faith. For Nela, deprived of the sole occupation and aim of her existence, there remains but to die, and pass away from a world in which she seemed no longer wanted. The plot is not a new one as the same idea has already formed the groundwork of more than one romance, but the novelty of the scene in which it is laid, and the descriptive power and grace of style of the author have here invested it with fresh interest. It has attained to great popularity in Spain, and will probably survive his more elaborate historical works. In politics a liberal conservative, Galdós has given a rare example of disinterestedness, in never seeking place or office from any party. He leads a retired life, devoted to study and the prosecution of his literary avocations.

Almost identical with his has been the career of his competitor, the second typical writer on Spanish domestic manners. Born at Entralgo, a village in the Asturias, on October 4th, 1853,

Armando Palacio Valdes came, too, to Madrid to study law, and soon, too, abandoned it for literature. His *début* was made in the "Revista Europea," to which he contributed a number of brilliant critical and political articles, both before and after becoming its editor. His first novel, "El Señorito Octavia," published in 1881, was followed in 1883, by "Marta y Maria," one of the most familiarly known of his works. A brief interlude of domestic happiness here broke in on his literary career, for he married in that year a girl of sixteen, who died at the end of eighteen months of wedded life, leaving him an infant son as a remembrance. Since his bereavement, he has been a more industrious worker even than before, producing a novel regularly every year. Thus "Jose," "Riverita," "Maximina," "El Cuarto Poder," "La Hermana San Sulpicio," and "La Espuma," followed each other in annual succession from 1885 to 1890.

Two of these, "El Cuarto Poder," and "La Hermana San Sulpicio," are especially relevant to our present subject, since they aim at the representation of provincial society in Spain, under the title of "Novelas de Costumbres." The scene of the first is laid in a northern seaport, in which Santander may be identified under the name of Sarrió. The story is not altogether a pleasing one, as it turns on a painful subject of the rivalry of two sisters, one of whom supplants the other in her lover's affections, and in their subsequent married life makes him pay dearly for his faithlessness. The course of the narrative is frequently interrupted by episodes illustrative of local middle class society, with all its pettiness, triviality, and hopelessly low level of thought and feeling. Realism is here unredeemed by any imaginative exaltation, and only in the character of Cecilia, the forsaken bride of the worthless hero, is there any touch of sentiment to relieve the commonplace detail of prosaic existences.

A subject lending itself better to romantic idealisation is that of "La Hermana San Sulpicio," the author's novel of Andalusian manners. The heroine is, as the title implies, a nun, but there is no breach of her religious vows involved in her appearance in that capacity. The story opens when the date at which they are terminable is approaching, and she does not accept the hero's addresses until she has exchanged her conventual garb



for one more befitting the part she plays in the story. Her introduction to worldly life takes place, indeed, while she still wears the habit, at a spa whither she has accompanied a Reverend Mother in quest of health. Here she is thrown into the company of a young man, Ceferino Sanjurjo, whose medical knowledge serves as an introduction, and on whose heart her innocent gaiety and Andasian *espièglerie* of manner make an instantaneous and ineffaceable impression. Finding, on following her to Seville, that her mother, under the influence of a designing man of business, is seeking to compel her to renew her vows in order to retain control of her inheritance, he brings counter-influences to bear by which this intrigue is frustrated and her liberty secured for the time. Then begins an Andalusian courtship, carried on, according to immemorial usage, by nocturnal conversations through the lady's window-grating, the scene in Seville of all lovers' vows. The happy ending of this romantic wooing is delayed by various checks and disappointments—at first by an unreasoning fit of jealousy on the part of Gloria, the worldly name of the ex-sister, and afterwards by the renewed opposition of her family, taking the form of an attempt, thwarted by Ceferino, to seclude her forcibly in the convent. When all these obstacles have been duly overcome the curtain falls on the felicity of the united lovers.

The movement and life of Seville and the characteristics of its heterogeneous population, form the background on which the drama of courtship is relieved. A native of Galicia, in Northern Spain, the hero receives from the southern capital impressions as novel and lively as though he were a denizen of another country, and the scenery and setting familiar to us in northern books of travel, are freshly realised through their aspect in Spanish eyes. The street life of Seville, too, is here brought before us in its summer phase, rarely seen by foreign visitors, but far more distinctive of the semi-Eastern city than its winter tranquillity. The *patios*, or courts, on which the rooms of the houses open in Oriental fashion, are the family habitation in the hot months, and these open air drawing-rooms, roofed with awnings, decorated with plants and shrubs, furnished with sofas, chairs, and tables, and lit with lamps, are the scene of the *tertulias*, or evening receptions, which are the principal social institution of the south. That of the



Anguita family, to whom the hero is presented on his arrival, furnishes a characteristic tableau of Andalusian manners, the unconventional frankness of which is indicated by the familiarity with which the young ladies of the house address the newly-introduced guest by his adorned patronymic, as "Sanjurjo." The vivacious interchange of pleasantries on all subjects, the unfolding dramas of flirtation and jealousy, the sharp personalities of a circle where all the *habitués* and intimacy has rubbed off the restrictions of more general society form here a perfect photograph of the middle-class life of a southern population.

Equally characteristic are the street scenes, and the vignettes of interiors caught from outside. This absence of indoor privacy is illustrated, for the benefit of the Galician visitor, by an impromptu dialogue between a young lady playing the piano in her drawing-room and a working woman passing by the window. The latter calls to the girl, and when she turns round to ask what she wants, simply replies: "Nothing, *Senorita*, only that I admired your back so much, I wanted to see what your face was like."

"And what do you think my face like, now that you have seen it?" asks the young lady.

"Like a rosebud, my heart," is the reply, to which compliment the damsel replies with an ejaculation of thanks before returning to her interrupted occupation. The doubt may possibly suggest itself to the unromantic northern mind, whether intercourse with casual passers-by would always be of so agreeable a character, and whether the free criticism of the street on the interior would often be so flattering to the self-love of the inmates.

The hero describes as follows the impression made on him by the nocturnal aspect of Seville, with its lamp-lit effects of light and shade constantly changing like the slides of a magic lantern.

The nights were hot and stifling, and when I did not go to the Anguitas, I amused myself strolling about the city waiting for eleven o'clock, dragging my feet with slow and languid steps. Walking at that hour through the alleys of Seville was the same as visiting the interior of the houses, as the families and their evening visitors were assembled in the *patios*, which were clearly visible through the gratings. I could see the girls in

their light dresses, their black hair in plaits adorned with bright-coloured flowers, swinging in their rocking-chairs, while their admirers, unceremoniously astride on their chairs, conversed with them in undertones or cooled them with their fans. Their exclamations, their laughter, their piquant phrases, were distinctly audible. In some *patios* there was guitar-playing, and they sang joyous *malagueñas*, or sentimental airs with melancholy long-drawn notes, chorussed by the applause and clapping of the company. In others, one or two pairs of girls danced *seguidillas*, while the castanets rattled with a merry click, and the profiles of the dancers passed and re-passed before the grating, their attitudes now haughty, now languishing and yielding, but always alluring and full of seductive promises. These were what might be called the traditional *patios*. Others were modern or modernised, and there fashionable waltzes, or the best known airs of the farces last brought out in Madrid, were played on the piano, or *Forrei Morir*, the *Stella Confidente*, or some of the other pieces composed by Italians for the recreation of middle class families were sung. Lastly there were others of a mysterious aspect, silent and apparently mournful, where the light was dimly shaded, but where, looking intently, in the twilight under the foliage of the trees, a pair of lovers might be discerned carrying on their courtship.

The writer gives a lurid picture of another phase of Andalusian life in his description of one of the haunts of the heroes and habitués of the bull ring, where aristocratic patrons of vice mix with the lowest dregs of the populace under the levelling influence of a common depravity. The orgie in the low restaurant, with its fraternity of disreputable dancers and musicians, bullfighters, ex-bandits, and *roués* noblemen, recalls the scenes painted on some Spanish fans, and is evidently a veracious presentment of this side of Andalusian manners.

Senor Valdes' last novel "*La Espuma*," (Troth) translated into English in Heinemann's series, with a preface by Mr. Gosse, is illustrative of upper class life in Madrid, where the moral tone seems to be so much on a level with that of the section of society last described as to afford a fresh confirmation of the truth that "extremes meet." Into these exalted circles we prefer however, to penetrate in company with another guide, whose testimony to the same effect is even more emphatic and authoritative.

The publication last winter of a novel entitled "*Pequeñeces*" (Trifles) by the well known Jesuit writer, Father Louis Coloma created an extraordinary sensation from its uncompromising frankness in holding up to the contempt and

reprobation of the public the follies and vices of the upper ten thousand in the Spanish capital. It called forth a shower of comment in pamphlets, letters, reviews, and newspaper articles written in answer to or in criticism on it. None have, however, impugned the accuracy of the picture presented by its pages which agrees, too, in its main outlines with that drawn by Señor Valdes in his novel on the same theme. One of its commentators, "Fray Candil," in the pamphlet included in our headings, begins as follows, his essay on the scope and character of the Jesuit's work :—

This novel has been the subject of much discussion, not only among the confraternity of the pen, but also among those outside the world of letters. The unprecedented *succès de scandale* achieved by "Pequeñeces," is due, in my opinion, setting aside its artistic merit, to the fact that the author is a Jesuit, and that the Spanish aristocracy is ridiculed with pungent satire in his work.

High life in the capital with all its pomp and vices during the period of the restoration of the Bourbon Monarchy, furnishes the social ambient of the novel. According to the dictum of those best informed, Padre Coloma narrates with such accuracy this period of the history of Spain, that some of its survivors have fancied themselves alluded to in his pages. Many suppose, indeed, and as it seems to us not without foundation, that "Pequeñeces" is a novel with a key, despite the author's care to state in a note that his personages are not portraits of definite individuals.

This remarkable book is, as its critics agree at once a veracious historical study, and a satire on manners, written with full knowledge of the subject by a keen and coldly analytical observer. His attitude towards human nature is that of a student of its workings from the outside, unmoved himself by the follies and infirmities he lays bare, as is the surgeon, who with the dissecting knife, points out to his attentive audience the seat of the disease that has undermined the subject's life. He is, in this respect, compared by his commentators to Balzac, who, as they say, incessantly follows his *dramatis personæ* with explanatory digressions on their motives and conduct. Unimpassioned as the recording angel, the Jesuit writer develops his sinister theme in a series of highly characteristic situations, in which the background of vice from which they spring is suggested and implied without being presented in detail. The world on which he turns for us the light of his incisive genius is the roughly corrupt, with-



out even the exaltation of passion to palliate its disorders. Vanity, self-love, idleness, and the craving of jaded minds for some fresh stimulus to emotion, are impelling forces imparting quite sufficient momentum to urge his vicious team down the headlong slope to perdition.

The brazen-fronted cynicism of a society acquiescent in all evil could scarcely be carried farther than in the visits of condolence paid to the Condesa de Albornoz on the death of Juan Velarde, and in the mourning, carefully graduated to the last shade of becomingness, publicly worn by her on that occasion. It is against this general complicity in guilt on the part even of those personally untainted with it, that Padre Coloma's poignant satire is directed, in the hope that it may rouse the collective conscience to some sense of responsibility, if that of the individual wrong-doer be beyond his influence. In the prologue addressed to the readers of his work he describes, as follows, his motive for choosing so painful a theme:—

And if you wonder, perhaps, that I, being, who I am, venture with such boldness on so hazardous a theme, you must take into account that in the guise of a novelist I am only a missionary, and that as in bygone times an itinerant friar, jumping on a table in any place of public resort, preached there the most homely truths to idlers who would never enter the temple, addressing them in their own rude language the better to reach their understandings, so I set up my preaching booth in the pages of a novel, and thence discourse to those who would listen to me in no other fashion, telling them in their own language obvious and necessary truths which could never be pronounced under the sacred roof of a church.

He adds that though the Spanish "*Messenger of the Sacred Heart*," in which the tale first appeared, is intended primarily for the pious and devout, it also falls into the hands of fashionable and worldly folk, for whom so strongly pointed a moral is by no means superfluous. It might have seemed on the other hand, that the subject of "*Pequeñeces*" as an exposition of wickedness in high places, would have unfitted it for production in a periodical destined for all classes of readers, and much of the author's meaning has, consequently to be read, as he says himself "between the lines." His skill, indeed, in conveying, without defining, the situations introduced is not less wonderful than his command of the dialect and diction of that world of



fashionable frivolity from which his calling places him so far apart. In this respect even hostile critics yield him unstinted praise, comparing him, in his power of endowing his characters with living and appropriate speech, to the greatest masters of Spanish prose.

The dialogue (says "Fray Candil") is indisputably what most fascinates us in "*Pequeñeces*," and this is easily explicable, since it is there that Padre Coloma concentrates his strength in reproducing reality without personal commentary from himself. His conversations, therefore, abound in truth to nature, in spontaneous humour, in vivacity and accuracy of diction. Padre Coloma departs here from the manner of Balzac, to approach, nay, almost to identify himself with that of Alarcon. In the unconstrained, rapid, witty, and natural flow of the dialogue, there is much in common between the authors of "*La Prodigia*," and "*Pequeñeces*." Even in the comic and slangy strain in which most of the chapters of the latter terminate, I find a certain similarity between Alarcon and Coloma. Let those who differ from me recall the most racy scenes in "*El Sombrero de tres Picos*," and compare them with others in "*Pequeñeces*." That this is so, is due to the fact that in P. Coloma, as in Alarcon, the satirical tendency predominates.

The critic goes on to say that the Jesuit novelist also excels in the plastic portraiture of his types, possessing the power of endowing them with life and movement, without exaggeration of light and shade. This method he describes in the artistic slang of the day as "depicting by impressionism."

The defect of the book as a work of art lies, on the other hand, to a great extent in the nature of its subject, and arises from the absence of any prominent character calculated to excite the sympathy or interest of the reader. Curra Albornoz, on whose doings and misdoings his attention is principally concentrated, is a woman so utterly worthless that polite language is mute for want of an epithet sufficiently vile to characterise her. She and the circle over which, in virtue of her acknowledged leadership of fashion she rules supreme, are morally on a level with the lowest dregs of the populace, undistinguishable from their several types in the criminal classes save for the superficial veneer of French polish that scarcely hides their innate brutality. The men indulge without rebuke in the presence of ladies in the foulest language of the tavern, which is, no doubt, quite good enough for the salons in which

it is uttered. In contrast with these scenes of gilded iniquity, the picture of the forlorn and neglected children of the lady of fashion is drawn with pathetic feeling, while there is tragic force in the realisation of the boy's despair, as he gradually awakens to a perception of his mother's character.

The action opens with a scene from his school life of which the motive is the same, and his sense of desolation at the absence of parental sympathy in his childish triumph in the possession of "five prizes and two certificates," is skilfully made a sort of introduction to the main subject of the plot. The curtain rises in the second chapter on the principal actors, gathered at an afternoon reception in the smoking room of the Duquesa de Bara, one of the social magnates of Madrid. The hostess, under the pretext of headache, lies extended in a *chaise longue*, smoking a cigar of the finest brand, while on her knees, to guard the trimmings of her rich silk dress against injury from the ashes, lies, what is no doubt a useful adjunct to the toilet under such circumstances, "an apron of the finest leather and most fashionable cut." Although tea is served at the Duchess's At Home as a diluent to the cake and sandwiches offered to her visitors, it is rejected by those amongst them with any pretention to *bon ton* in favour of raw whisky, to a third glass of which one of the party has just helped herself. The portly banker's wife, admitted to these exalted circles in right of the mortgages held by her husband on the ducal acres, strives in her elephantine way to imitate the airy *sans gêne* of her aristocratic neighbours, and smiles maternally on her daughter Lucy just from school taking little whiffs out of Angelito Castropardo's cigar. The girl bravely endures coughs and choking fits in her delight at having a grandee of Spain to initiate her into the ways of fashionable life, and seeks to copy in all respects the *chic* of the elder ladies regarded by her as models of elegance and distinction. All the figures in this group are drawn in vigorous and suggestive outline from the strong minded spinster, Leopoldina Pastor, to the Marqués de Butron, Minister Plenipotentiary before the revolution, and political intriguer for a restoration, since nicknamed by the ex-Queen Isabella "Robinson Crusoe" from his hairy aspect. The influence of the ladies of the aris-

ocracy is the principal engine set to work to achieve his end, and it is their hostility that has, when the story opens, created a void round the throne, and isolated Don Amadeo of Savoy and his Queen, Maria Victoria, by combined abstention from all court ceremonials. The populace showed sympathies on the same side in their own fashion, rioting, breaking street lamps, and shouting lampoons and songs in which the reigning monarch was caricatured as "Macaroni the First." The Cortes meanwhile were equally recalcitrant, and a chronic state of ministerial crisis existed, while the speech from the Throne, delivered on April 3rd, remained still unanswered on June 21st. The *salons* of the great ladies were the hotbeds of political intrigue, and the Duchess's visitors, Alfonsists to a woman, were as much startled as if a bomb had burst in their midst, when a new comer, Isabel Mazacan, "with a glance too commanding for an adventuress, too brazen for a great lady," launches upon them the announcement that a First Lady of the Bedchamber has been appointed. Conjecture is immediately rife as to who could have been found to fill the office, for which the rank of Grandee of Spain is an indispensable qualification, and which the feminine cabal had hitherto succeeded in keeping unfilled. Various contemptuous suggestions are made in burlesque of the new dignitary, each vying with the other in ridicule of the idea that it could have been accepted by any lady of position according to their standard.

Isabel Mazacan allowed a malicious smile to curl her lips, like one who savoured in anticipation an expected triumph, presented a glass to Paco Velez that he might fill it with whisky, emptied it at a gulp, and finally launched her missile :

"Curra Albornoze," she said.

The enormity of the assertion destroyed its effect, an exclamation of general incredulity broke from the lips of all present, and the Duchess, flinging herself back in her chair, exclaimed, "It is a canard !"

It was now Isabel's turn to be indignant, and whilst old Butron tried to hide a sudden start, as if he saw serious danger in the announcement, she cried, much disappointed at the failure of her sensation—

"Well, I declare, I am amazed at the amazement of all of you good people. Why this dismay ? When was Curra ever ashamed of any-thing ?"

"But this is a different thing !" replied the Duchess, with the most



naïve candour. "Because the enormity you attribute to her would be worse than a crime; it would be a blunder. Lady of the Bedchamber to the Cisterna.\* How ridiculous!"

"But if I tell you I know it on indisputable authority."

"Come, woman, out without fear, for none of us will see anything to blush about," exclaimed Marie Valdivieso, with unmistakable significance, "It was Garcia Gomez who told you."

The other faltered a moment, then, without even blushing for her implied intimacy with the handsome Minister, said at last, "Garcia Gomez did tell me."

"And even if Garcia Gomez told you," exclaimed the Duchess unmoved, "I do not believe it. I should see her in the carriage with the Cisterna first."

"You will come to believe it in time, then, so don't excite yourself," interrupted Isabel Mazacan, with feigned indifference. "Do you remember when Currita was in Paris at the time of the abdication of the Queen? Do you remember that no one thought of inviting her to the ceremony? She took good care not to tell it, but her husband, that Villamelon, who is much more of a *melon* than of a *villa*, let it out, one night in Casa Camponegro. There, you have the right end of the stick. She never forgave the slight, and now wants to pay off the grudge; so wonder to your heart's content. She was not even offered the post, it was she herself who solicited it."

They are still in the heat of the discussion, when they are interrupted by the approach of its subject, as a lady, very small and fragile, with red hair, a freckled skin, and grey eyes so light in colour that, at a distance, they produce the effect of those of a statue, is seen crossing the adjoining room. One of the company immediately rushes to the piano and begins to play the hymn of Doña Maria Victoria, while a young man goes forward to meet the new-comer with a caricature of the stiff military salute of Don Amadeo.

Currita stopped for a moment on the threshold without a change in her manner, which was that of a timid child, an ingenuous school-girl, heard the hymn, saw the attitude of the young man, took in the situation with a single rapid glance, then, suddenly bending her body with exquisite grace in reply to the Amadeist salute, made a deep and stately Court courtesy—so right, so left, in front in most elegant ridicule of the ceremonious reverence habitual to the Queen, Doña Maria Victoria.

The ambitious Countess has, in point of fact, reverted once more to her old political allegiance, having received the

\* The maiden name of the Queen was Pozzo della Cisterna, an ancient and wealthy, but not royal house.



*amende* from the exiled Queen, in the shape of a much-coveted invitation to be present in Rome at the first communion of the young prince. An adept and mistress in deceit, she has no difficulty in constructing a tale sufficiently plausible to pass muster, and succeeds in perplexing, if not convincing her accusers. Her air of injured innocence, her infantine candour of manner, and her low-toned and musical cadence of voice, all come to the aid of her inimitable effrontery in enabling her to execute with success her difficult feat in political gymnastics.

A still greater degree of cool insolence is required for her interview with the Minister of the reigning monarch, from whom, by a *coup de main* she eventually snatches the letter in which her husband, contrary to her instructions, had formulated in writing her demand for the place in question and the conditions of her acceptance. Her unblushing denial of the transaction is made in the following highly characterising scene with the Minister:—

"At the palace (he begins) there is much displeasure at this." Currita shrugged her shoulders with a pretty grimace, as who should say: "What is this you are telling me?"

"Yes, Madam," continued the Minister, "his Majesty the King is much offended, her Majesty the Queen greatly hurt."

Currita felt inclined to laugh at the pompous air with which the democratic Minister pronounced these sonorous words—Palace—Majesty—King—Queen—which seemed to fill his capacious mouth, and asked with her accustomed suavity:

"Who? The Cisterna?"

The Minister swelled like a bull of Veragua in whom the *picador* has planted his lance.

"No, Madam," cried he, offended in his dynastic pride, "her Majesty the Queen of Spain, Dona Maria Victoria."

"Dear me!" said Currita, "and what have I to do with the feelings of this lady?"

"What have you to do?" exclaimed the Minister, almost choking, between the heat of the fire and Currita's mocking calm, "Do you think you can solicit the post of Lady of the Bedchamber, and then throw it up the moment it is granted? Is a Queen who is a model of every virtue to be trifled with like this? I would have your ladyship know that the Government has decided to protest energetically!" And the Minister, all discomposed, heated with gout and passion, red as a beet-root, with both hands propped on their respective knees, fixed his fishy eyes on Currita, as if he meant to swallow her at one mouthful. She, however, nothing

daunted by the bellowing of "Apis the Bull" (his nickname in society), sat up a little straighter, and much astonished and offended, and with her light eyes always fixed on space, began to say with an accent of grief in her sweet low voice:

"Hut, Martinez, for heaven's sake do not excite yourself so. There must be some mystification in this, some misunderstanding, to make a man of your Excellency's talent talk so wildly. I, Lady of the Bedchamber to the Cister—I mean to Doña Victoria? Who has put this idea into your head?"

"You yourself, my lady Countess, your ladyship's self!" cried the Minister. "Will you dare to deny in presence of the Minister of Ultramar, that you solicited the office of Lady of the Bedchamber, on condition that that of Secretary to the King was given to Velarde, and to your ladyship a salary of six thousand duros?"

"I certainly will deny it," replied Currita, with all her customary spirit.

"You will?" Then we will see if your ladyship's husband will also deny it, when all the newspapers in Madrid publish this paper."

And he flourishes before her eyes the letter of her half-witted husband, reading aloud to her its fatally compromising phrases. It is while engaged in this performance that the lady executes her strategic movement, snatching from him, while off his guard, the incriminating document, and burning it before his eyes, while exclaiming in mocking repetition of his prescription for her feigned headache on his first entry, "Come, come, Martinez, you ought really to put on two potato plaisters, they are very cooling!"

The wily lady, having thus baffled her adversary, weaves a fresh web of intrigue in order to recover with her own party the ground she has lost by the rumour of her tergiversations. An anonymous letter written by herself to the police, indicating her house as the centre of a Bourbonist plot, causes it to be searched for papers, with the result of investing her with the aureola of political martyrdom.

Thus she achieves a sort of apotheosis, figuring as the heroine of one of those feminine demonstrations which aimed at effecting a counter revolution by "strokes of the fan." This form of agitation seemingly a harmless one, consisted in the abandonment by the ladies of the usual fashionable drive, for one to another place of resort, whither they repaired attired in the national costume, and displaying in some ostentatious fashion

the symbolical lily of the Bourbons. Our author describes the scene as follows:—

At half-past six that evening not a single carriage was to be seen in the *Retiro* or the park, while hundreds crossed at full trot the *Paseo de Recoletos*, already crowded with people, and followed each other in a confused throng to the Fuente Castellana. Never did Vienna hurrying to the Prater, Berlin to the Linden, or Paris to the *Bois*, present a spectacle so characteristic and so picturesque as that offered at sunset by that immense avalanche of luxurious vehicles, most of them open, crowded with women of all types, of all ages, in bright coloured costumes, with black or white mantillas, high combs, and flowers in their hair, in their dresses, in their hands, on the seats and doors of their carriages, on the head stalls of the horses and on the liveries of the coachmen. Carriages, horses, mules, harness, laces, liveries, coachmen with erected whips, lackeys with folded arms, mingled there in an undistinguishable throng without crowding on each other, while the senses were bewildered by the jingling of harness, the cracking of whips, the odours of spring and perfumes of the toilette, the fragrance of fresh-gathered lily of the valley, of lilac, lilies and violets, all veiled as if in a vapour, by a cloud of fine, luminous dust, and irradiated by splendid effects of light, as the reflection of the setting sun, penetrating through the foliage of the trees, kindled flames like those of a conflagration in the silver-plating of the harness, the buttons of the liveries, and the metal mountings of the carriages.

The central figure of this animated scene is the Countess of Alborno, who appears in a magnificent landau drawn by a pair of high-stepping bays, wearing a yellow dress with a black mantilla, while her companion is attired in red with a white mantilla, the national colours being thus shared between them. The costume of both ladies is completed by high tortoise-shell combs, and quantities of white and scarlet pinks in their hair and dresses. At each wheel rides a group of gentlemen by way of bodyguard, and all the ladies greet the occupants of the carriage as it passes with a rain of flowers or an enthusiastic flourish of handkerchiefs.

The police, meanwhile, look calmly on at this parade of Alfonsist enthusiasm, and the fair rebels, half wondering at their own successful audacity, feel like naughty children organising a revolt under the eyes of their teachers. But an astute minister of Don Amedeo has devised a means of quashing the demonstration more crushing than any form of forcible repression. The exorcising influence is brought to bear in the shape of a carriage drawn by four white horses, turned out



with an exaggeration of the splendour of those already present, which now takes its place amongst them, and in which, decked out in mantillas and castellated combs in caricature of their own finery, the politicians in petticoats recognise to their horror two of the notorieties of Madrid—who are not noble. The effect is as magical as the transformation of an harlequinade, the carriages vanish as rapidly as the fairy equipage of Cinderella and so ends, in an ingnomitious collapse, a scene which the author in a note declares to be absolutely historical.

The most tragical incident in the tale, which would have been more effective if less hurriedly narrated, arises out of the visit of the police to the Countess of Abornoz's palace, and the piquant comments in the newspapers of the opposite party on the revelations contained in a packet of letters she had forgotten to remove. In the rage of wounded vanity she selects as her champion Juan Velarde, an unhappy young man, who, fresh from a pious country home, had been swept into the gilded meshes of her train, to fall as the victim of her self-love in a duel with a newspaper editor. The ethical lesson of his career would have been more telling if less obviously intended, since his transitory appearance on the scene is too much of a lay figure inartistically labelled with a moral. Curra appears at the opera in half mourning in his honour, and having accidentally taken up a glove of each colour, wears them in a sort of bravado, and so sets the fashion of this bizarre addition to a magpie toilet.

The scene next shifts to Paris, whither, on the breaking out of the revolution that drove King Amadeo from the throne, all the Spanish aristocracy have repaired, to rally round the still exiled scions of Bourbon royalty. Here a new and striking character appears upon the stage in the person of a dissipated nobleman, Jacobo Tellez-Ponce, in right of his wife Marqués de Sabadell, since the lady in Spain conveys her rank and dignity to her spouse.\* A mere adventurer, without character or principle, a trafficker in revolution and ex-adept of secret societies, this degraded aristocrat may be termed in his unredeemed infamy the villain of the piece. He quickly

\* In allusion to this Spanish law of inheritance, one of the characters in the book, a relative of the Empress Eugénie, is represented as always speaking of Napoleon III. as "My cousin, the Count Consort of Teba."



obtains an influence over Currita, which he uses for his own purposes, spending Villamelon's money and trusting to the influence of his name for political and social promotion. One of the most brilliantly descriptive scenes of these pages is that in which, after the accession of Alfonso XII., this reprobate is received at court in the stately ceremonial in which the *Grandees of Spain* assert their dignity by appearing covered in presence of the king. The ceremony—instituted by Charles V., when he limited the privilege previously shared by all the Spanish nobility to twelve magnates, thenceforward termed *Grandees of the first class*\*—is enhanced by the splendid attire of those presented, generally consisting of some glittering uniform, with cocked hat plumed with feathers. Each is introduced by a godfather, who has been already "covered," and makes a speech recounting the glories of his house and the deeds of his ancestors.

So with various shiftings of the social kaleidoscope, the action runs on to the final catastrophe, the assassination of Jacobo by the emissaries of Freemasonry, in presence of Curra, who has tracked his movements through jealousy. Her social downfall, necessary for retributive justice, follows on the commission of the crime, in the mystery attendant on which she is involved, through the identification as hers of a valuable piece of fur found on the scene. She does not, however, let the sceptre of fashion slip from her grasp without a desperate effort for its retention, and has the audacity to present herself as usual at the Palace on one of the subsequent days, when her turn comes for attendance in her capacity as *Lady-in-Waiting* to Doña Mercedes, the young Queen. Here a terrible blow is in store for her, for as she awaits in some trepidation the summons to the presence of Her Majesty, a majordomo appears instead, to announce her dismissal, and require her to surrender her cross of office.

Humiliation brings repentance in its train her heart is softened by devotional exercises, at first resorted to partly as a means of recovering her social prestige, and we leave her in dutiful attendance on her husband, now grown completely idiotic, in the neighbourhood of the shrine of St Ignatius at

\* These were the Dukes of Medinaceli, Alburquerque, Infantado, Alba, Medina de Rioseco, Frios, Escalona, Benevente, Najera, Arcos, Medinaceli, and the Marques de Astorga.

Loyola. However satisfying from an artistic point of view, this sudden conversation rather jars upon the reader's sense of congruity as there is nothing in her previous character to lead up to it. Some redeeming touch of natural feeling, some glimpse of womanly tenderness, some human kindliness for her companions even in frivolity, should have been shown in her as a prelude to such a change. Thus unheralded by any preliminary indication, her sudden conversion leaves on our minds a misgiving as to its reality, and inspires a doubt whether she may not have imposed even on the author of her being by a new exercise of her Protean power of dissimulation. Apart from this final incongruity, she is throughout a living creation, embodying the worst type of worldly womanhood and masking with the external graces of manner and bearing a nature as cold and pitiless as it is depraved. With vanity as the mainspring of her actions, to her the author says might be applied what was said of another fictitious personage: "When she assisted at a wedding, she would have wished to be the bride, when at a christening, the new-born infant; when at a funeral, the deceased."

Her feeble husband, with his mental vacuity, his passion for gastronomy, and his temporary crazes for childish pursuits, is equally true to life, and their apparently affectionate relations, based on mutual toleration, are skilfully conveyed. The author's power of character presentment is the more remarkable, as the plot is somewhat wanting in cohesion, and the action consists rather of a series of brilliant episodes than of a central subject governing the minor incidents that spring from it.

The characters who play a secondary part in the drama are each and all elaborately individualised, and among the vices of Spanish high life pilloried in his gallery of illustration by the author, the northern reader will, perhaps, be surprised to find that inebriety is one. His personages include a victim to this form of excess whose deathbed repentance, and reconciliation with heaven by the instrumentality of the old Jesuit who had been his teacher in boyhood, is one of the most vivid and touching scenes in the book.

But while the accomplished Jesuit thus scourges with his caustic pen the vices and weaknesses of the aristocracy, he expressly disclaims the wish to imply that all, or even the

majority, are tainted with these excesses. His indictment against society is rather that through timidity or indolence it allows its tone to be lowered to the level of that of its worst members, and acquiesces passively in the leadership of the most daring offenders against its conventional code. Or as it was put by a periodical of the date of which he writes, the ladies of Madrid might be classified under three headings, a considerable number good, a few bad, a great many who, while belonging to the first category, range themselves in appearance in the second. The same idea is expressed by the author himself as follows :—

And though none could have explained the reason of the supremacy exercised by Currita in the circles of the capital, all the world from the most perfect gentleman to the fashionable gamester, and from the most virtuous lady to the worst conducted, submitted to her more or less directly, with that shameful tolerance of the scandalous which is in our opinion the capital sin of high society in Madrid, and the origin and source of all its deformities. This, too, without ceasing to proclaim that she was surpassed in beauty by all, equalled in descent by many, and outdone in riches by not a few, while only in impudence and audacity did she hold the first place. Was this then the reason of that supremacy? Can it be that certain societies, by dint of seeing vice in the garb of refinement, and by breathing the atmosphere of scandal, attain at last to the aberration of those savage tribes who offer their most abject worhomage and enthusiastic worship to the most monstrous idol?

The scathing satire of the Jesuit moralist is thus directed against the community rather than the individual, against a general perversion of the ethical standard rather than the actual sins of committal by of a comparatively limited class. Nor need his compatriots feel aggrieved if he has chosen from among them the examples with which to point a moral, that in this age when the groundwork of all morality is called in question, and every traditional belief scrutinised to the root, may well be applied by all classes and peoples alike.

ELLEN M. CLERKE.

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## EARLY RUSSIAN FICTION.

GALAKHOV, *Istoria rousskoï Slovesnosti*. St. Petersburg.

[1880]

PORFIRIEV *Istoria rousskoï Slovesnosti*. Kasan, 1866.

POLEVOL, *Istoria rousskoï Literatoury*. St. Petersburg, 1883.

RAMBAND, *La Russie épique*. Paris, 1876.

POLKVOI, *Narodnuia Skazki*. St. Petersburg, 1856.

MAIKOV, *O builinakh, &c.* 1863.

THE political and historical conditions of the Slavonic peoples, and perhaps more especially of Russia, as the living barrier between East and West, have of course left their consequences, easily recognisable, in the civil, social, artistic, and literary development of those nations. Centuries of struggle, alternating periods of foreign dominion and dogged resistance under oppression have left as results, a certain exhaustion, apathy, and discouragement, which indeed are slow to vanish, but which will one day be shaken off by strength that is even now gathering. We may suppose that some analogous fate was in store for the fairest regions of Europe had Charles Martel been unsuccessful in his resistance to the forces of Islam, or had the heart been less resolute or the arm less vigorous of those who smote back the Mahometan in the early youth of Christian civilization. Scarcely less is it due to the part played in history by the Slavonic nations that Europe has been shielded from the barbaric powers which would, humanly speaking, have crushed out its Christianity and its vitality, or at least have required the absorption of all its energies in a continual struggle for existence, and not for culture. This ungrateful part in the destinies of Europe is perhaps adequate to explain if not to excuse the retardation of Russia in politics, and in material civilization. Nothing like general education has as yet penetrated the great masses of the Russian people; and they still preserve by oral tradition, altered, it may be, verbally, but not materially, the folk songs and folk tales which have lived for centuries on their lips. As to whether these are dying out or not different opinions



are held. They have not yet, at least to any great extent, been replaced by music-hall doggrels and "penny dreadfuls."

But while the masses thus still remain in the past, the cultured few keep more or less apace with the advance of knowledge in the West, and are alive to the importance of preserving, while yet this is possible, the oral literature of the peasantry. Afanasief, Hilferding, and other scholars have in recent times collected and recorded these echoes of a past that is rapidly being effaced. An Englishman, strange to say, Richard James, Chaplain of Embassy, about 1619, was the first to begin this work. A manuscript in his hand containing six songs is preserved at Oxford.

So far as style is concerned—writes Mr. Ralston, the best English authority on Early Russian literature, in his "Russian Folk-tales" (1878, p. 5) The *skazkas*, or Russian folk-tales, may justly be said to be characteristic of the Russian people. There are numerous points on which the "lower classes" of all the Aryan peoples in Europe closely resemble each other, but the Russian peasant has—in common with all his Slavonic brethren—a genuine talent for narrative which distinguishes him from some of his more distant cousins. And the stories which are current among the Russian peasantry are for the most part exceedingly well narrated. Their language is simple and pleasantly quaint, their humour is natural and unobtrusive, and their descriptions, whether of persons or of events, are often excellent. A taste for acting is widely spread in Russia, and the Russian folk-tales are full of dramatic positions which offer a wide scope for a display of their reciter's mimetic talents. Every here and there, indeed, a tag of genuine comedy has evidently been attached by the story-teller to a narrative which in its original form was probably devoid of the comic element.

This oral literature, if we may use such a term,\* consists of pagan ritual songs, proverbs, riddles, etc. but it likewise includes (a) fragmentary epics or metrical romances reciting the feats of *bogatviri*† or national heroes. This kind of composition is called *builina* from the verb substantive *buti* and (b) the *skazka* or prose tale avowed fiction, from *skazat*, to tell.

\* "Slovesnost" signifies the art of language or literature, whether oral or written, and is derived from *Slovo* word just as "*pis'mennost*," written literature, writing, is formed from "*pisat*" to write *pis'mo*, letter.

† The etymology of *bogatviri* is not, I believe, yet settled. *Bogatviri* is not the word employed in the oldest written poems, and may have been introduced by the Tartars, and been derived by them from an Aryan source the Sanscrit *baghadhara*, a fortunate person. It has also been referred to *bogat*, rich.

The *builini* segregate into several groups each whereof is associated with certain localities, or certain historical personages. The chief groups or cycles are those of the older heroes, or quasi demigods—of Vladimir, prince of Kiev, of Novgorod, of Moscow, of the Cossacks, and of Peter the Great. It is, however, to be remarked that it is by no means in those localities to which these legends attach that the greatest number of *builini* have been written down from the mouths of the peasantry.

Elias of Mouroni is the dominant hero of the cycle of Vladimir. Vladimir himself fills a place similar to that of Charlemagne in the early romance of France.

The peasant's son Elias was without the full use of his arms or legs until his thirtieth year. His marvellous strength was at length imparted to him by pilgrims—or, in some variants of the legend, is conferred on him by Christ, who, accompanied by two apostles, appears and solicits refreshments—he is, however, bidden quaff himself the draught he offers them, and anon

His heroic heart upkindled,  
His white body oozed with sweat

Hereupon he exults in such strength that he could turn the land of Holy Rus round, were there a pillar reaching to heaven, and a ring of gold to hold by. Bidden drink again he loses some of his superabundant strength. According to a different version Ilya received his "heroic strength" from Sviatogor (Holy Mount, a Slavonic Sampson, and, following the Solarists, the Old Sun who cedes his place to the New Sun East. Sviatogor adopts Ilya as his younger brother, and they journey together, and come to an immense sepulchre which bears the inscription:

"He that is destined to lie in this tomb, shall lie there outstretched." It proves too large for Ilya but fits his companion, who begs his younger brother to cover him with the stone cover. True to the mild character which we shall see further developed in Ilya, and which is not without real significance, he declines to entomb his stronger brother, and demonstrates; so Sviatogor adjusts the cover himself. He finds, however, that he is unable to raise it again, and then exclaims "Fate has overtaken me, try thou, and lift the cover." Ilya's repeated efforts prove vain. "Bend down to me," says the giant, "through the chink I will breathe into thee my heroic breath." Ilya obeys, and forthwith his strength is increased threefold. But as before his endeavour to liberate Sviatogor is unavailing. "I am dying," says the giant, "bend down that I breathe into thee my whole strength." "I have enough," replies Ilya, "more, and no earth would not hold me." "Thou hast done well, little brother, to obey my last command, I should have breathed a deadly breath upon thee, and thou would'st have lain dead by my side."

This account serves to show the relation of Ilya of Mouroni, a hero, to the older race of bogatiri, or demigods. He is counselled, as M. Porfirief observes (p. 52), by the pilgrims not to fight the giant, and is given such strength only as will render it possible for him to dwell with ordinary men.

Sviatogor bequeaths his sword to Ilya, but his horse is to be tethered to his grave,—'None other than I must have him.'

The first action of Ilya upon receiving strength, was to cultivate the soil, an occupation rarely assigned by epic compositions to the hero,\* and the incident is significant in regard to the stage of Slavonic social development, at which it was interpolated into the probably earlier epic materials.

Ilya having begged his father's blessing, sets out on his "heroic steed" to Kief, the great Russian sanctuary, the second Constantinople, "to pray to God and render homage to Prince Vladimir." He is scarcely inferior to one of Arthur's knights or Charles's paladins in his care for the oppressed, his magnanimity, and his disinterestedness. On his way he delivers Chernigof from countless hosts of paynims, and, further on, encounters and captures the brigand monster Solovei (Nightingale), who reminds M. Rambaud ("La Russie épique," p. 52) of the Stymphealian harpies. His nest was on seven oaks, he stretched out his talons for seven versts around, like the sea monster slain by Persens, and so many other mythical dragons which had long devastated the country side. His whistle alone produced the most terrible effects. His captor brings him to the Court of Vladimir, at Kief, where, at the prince's behest, he bids the monster whistle, but only at half strength. But Solovei sounds his loudest and brings the roof of the palace down. In punishment he is chopped up by Ilya, and the gory mince strewn over the land. Ilya protects the terror stricken king and queen under his mantle.

Ily or Elias is not without his frailties, he drinks like any moujik—only more—and sleeps a "heroic sleep" of twelve days when he should be battling. On the other hand he is generous and disinterested, taking no guerdon for his beneficent feats. Russian critics observe with some complacency that Ily, in this respect, presents a favourable contrast to the avidity which, in the Scandinavian and Teutonic tradition, stimulates the search after the hidden treasure of the Nibelungs. He is of higher moral stature, too, remarks M. Galakhof, than Vladimir, whom he prevents from accepting a bribe offered by the children of Solovei for that caitiff's

\* Hiawatha is an exception.



release. Vladimir, indeed, like the Charlemagne of the Roland Song often obeys or seeks protection from his powerful vassal.

Not all the *bulini* are occupied with purely Slavonic themes. It is evident that numerous legends from different lands have been acclimatized and framed in a Slavonic setting, and more or less impressed with a Slavonic character. Thus, in the story of "Eruslan Sazarevich," the legend of the Persian hero Rustem of the "Shah Nameh" has been recognized in Russian story. We find, too, the wide-spread myth of Perseus and his mother Danaë committed to the sea in a chest; the Egyptian story of the robbery of the Treasury of Rhampsinitus preserved by Herodotus, reappears; and there is a Slavonic version of the Celtic story of the Miller and his Lord.\*

Byzantium was largely an intermediary in the diffusion of Greek and Oriental legends among the South Slavonians, mainly the Bulgarians, and through them in Russia. The passage was, perhaps, chiefly by literary channels, but also probably to no inconsiderable extent by the oral way. In the transmission of such traditions to the Slavonic peoples, the Byzantines filled a rôle analogous to that played by the Jews and Arabs in the transfer of Eastern fable to the lands of Western Europe. As we might expect, Alexander of Macedon, who looms so conspicuous through the vistas of mediæval romance, makes also a distinguished figure in Slavonic fiction, where one of his exploits is the incarceration of Gog and Magog in the bowels of a mountain, whence they are to issue at doomsday.

Alexander, who in Western versions of the romance, is made a model of chivalry, is also in the Byzantine fictions endowed with Christian qualities, takes arms against the Gentiles, and in one Servian manuscript is styled the *blessed* Alexander. The romance was widely diffused in Russia; and portions of it, particularly the accounts of the Indian King Porus, and of Gog and Magog, served as themes for *skazki*.

Besides the "Alexandreis," the romances of the "Trojan War" of "Barlaam and Josaphat," written in Greek from Eastern sources by St. John Damascene, the story of "India the Rich," was a favourite *skazka*.

\* Herodot. *Luzel*, *Contes Bretons*.



The legend of India the Rich (*Skazania ob Indii bogatoï*) is a version of the well-known feigned letter from Prester John to the Embassy of Manuel Comnenus. The earliest known Slavonic manuscript is of the fifteenth century.

The skazka of Akir the Wise, according to M. Bezsonof is a Russian embodiment of an Eastern legend of Asia Minor, and Akir himself much resembles Æsop, who was in the service of the Babylonian King Lycerus.

The wise Akir or Akour (perhaps a form of Assour) was the Viceroy of King Sinographe in the provinces of Alivit (Niniveh) and Aizor. Nothing was wanting to render him happy but a son. But he was told in a vision by God to adopt his nephew Anadam. Anadam repaid his benefits with the blackest ingratitude, and answers accordingly to Eunus the adopted son of Æsop. He accused Akir to Sinogrip of aiming at the throne, and to give point to the calumny forged royal letters ordering Akir to lead a contingent of troops to the capital. This stratagem succeeded, and Akir ordered his execution. But the groom charged with this commission was induced to spare Akir by the latter reminding him that his, Akir's, father had spared the groom's father on a similar occasion, and a prisoner already under capital sentence is executed instead. Akir was universally lamented as dead. A contest of riddles had long been active between Sinogrip and Pharaos, and the latter, now that Akir, whose astuteness had always secured the victory for his master, was dead, thought the time was come to take his *revanche*. So he sent a representative at the head of an army to the capital of Sinogrip whose kingdom he would conquer and annex should he fail to answer the riddles proposed. One by one Sinogrip's councillors and wise men were baffled, until at last the King sent for Anadam and offered him the half of his Kingdom if he would deliver him from his embarrassment. Anadam could only reply that the gods themselves could not solve the enigmas proposed. Meantime the groom, coming to hear how matters stood, brought word of the situation to Akir, who authorized him to inform the monarch that his faithful minister was still alive and ready to serve him. The King throws himself at the feet of Akir and adjures him to save the realm—just as Charlemagne supplicates Ogiér, or Vladimir Ily of Mouroni.

Akir compels Pharaoh's messenger to return to his master, to whose court Akir also goes, and replies satisfactorily to the riddles. The tables are thus turned, and Pharaoh makes ready the tribute he now owes to Sinagrip. The King of Niniveh, however, will take nothing but a precious stone which shines night and day, and which frequently appears in Russian legends. As to Anadam, he is delivered into the hands of Akir and duly punished, Akir reminding him of the scripture parable of the good and bad trees.

The Russian impress on this ancient Eastern legend (remarks M. Rambaud) is manifest in several palpably Christian details. In his directions to his adopted son Akir recommends him to frequent the churches; Anadam's perversion is brought about by the devil; and the story-teller observes, with reference to the episode of a cat being whipped by Akir's order, that at that time the Egyptians were idolaters, leaving the inference that Sinagrip and the Assyrians were Orthodox Christians. As to the mythical groundwork of the story, this is easy to discover. Akir is the old son who is daily supplanted by the new one. Anadam is perhaps only a form of the Syrian Adonis.

It has been shown by Professor Vesselovsky, of St. Petersburg,\* that a Byzantine epic of the tenth century, *Digenis Akritas*,† re-appears in the Russian *Devgenievo dyeanie* (Exploits of Devgenii).

From whatever quarter they were imported the stories are usually so well Russianized that it is often difficult to recognise their descent. M. Puipin has, however, traced a considerable number to their foreign sources. Here, for instance, is a curious instance of change undergone in the case of the well-known Eastern flying carpet upon its adoption into Russian popular fiction.

A Khan who is routed by St. Dimitri of Thessalonika orders a carpet to be embroidered with the portrait of the Saint, by one of his captives, a pious Christian maid, in order that he may vent his spite by trampling it under foot. The imprisoned maiden is compelled to execute the work, but when she is left alone she bethinks herself of praying to St. Dimitri, and

\* *Vyestnik Evropy*, April, 1875.

† This poem, which celebrates the feats of a certain *Pantlir* who helped to rout the Russian expedition of Igor in 941, is extant in a MS. of the Town Library at Trebizond. It was published by Emile Legrand at Paris in 1875. Some account of it is given at p. 422 of Rambaud's "*La Russie Epique*," and in the same writer's article in the "*Revue des Deux Mondes*," 15 Août, 1875.

falls asleep upon the embroidery. Upon awaking she finds herself in the Cathedral at Thessalonika, whither she had been miraculously transported on the tapestry, out of the enemy's hands.

The lineage of many of the fictions now domiciled in Russia has been traced, if not to their ultimate sources, at least to earlier homes, but it is not so clear how far stories of Slavonic origin have been diffused beyond Slavonic soil. Radlow, an authority on Mongolian languages, adduces inclinations of a passage of Russian legends into Asia. If he is unsupported in this view, it must be recollected that there are exceedingly few who are competent on the question. From the South, from the West, the literary current has generally set to Russia, though in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there was a reflux to South Slavonia. The subject is, however, as yet comparatively unexplored; its study should be auxiliary to history in throwing light on the movement and mutual relations of people. But it should not be unfruitful of other results. The early lays and legends of a people are full of that freshness, force, and fire which evoke the highest order of art, whether literary or other. The Russian poet Lermontof used ever to regret that he had not in his youth drunk at this fount of the people's lore, whence Poushkin drew so many of his best inspirations. Our own olden tales of Arthur are vital even now, when Tennyson has given them their finest investiture. These echoes of a simpler, nobler age ring out clear above the sordid materialism of to-day.

Just as large portions of the celebrated "Turpin's Chronicle" were moulded out of early ballads or *cantilenes*, so the annals of Nestor (1056-1114) embody many legends, whether of home growth or of Byzantine extraction. Other early Russian historical works are rather epic narratives than sober records. They abound in heathen and classical allusions and legendary anecdotes. The "Slovo o Polkon Yegoreva," or account of the expedition of Igor, Prince of Novgorod, against the Tartar tribes of the Polovtsi, is of this class. Mr. Morfill, in his "Early Slavonic Literature," compares this narrative to the Irish poetical descriptions of the battle of Clontarf, in the feuds of the Gaedhill and Gaill.

*Notwithstanding the Tartar Invasion, literature, though*



checked in the North East, did not decay. Towards the end of the thirteenth century Novgorod, Rostoff, Yaroslavl, Movrom, and other centres had produced whole cycles of legendary records relating to their princes and bishops.

The inflictions of the Mongols, however, found vivid expression in the unwritten literature of the people. The Tartar usually figures as the type of a terrible hostile power. Even in the thirteenth century there were manuscripts containing a whole series of semi-historical, semi-poetical stories and legends dealing with real events and personages.

The influence of Christian ideas is very apparent in the contrast presented by the heroes of these narratives to those of the older *bailini*. In the latter they are braggarts distinguished by physical strength and prowess—in the former it is a spiritual power which enables them to vanquish their enemies and recognize a higher agency than their own strength. (Galakhof p. 467).

The romance of the "White Hood of Novgorod" by Dmitri Tolmach, the "Expedition of John III. to Novgorod" attributed to the Metropolitan Philip I., and the romance of "Drakoule the cruel voivode of Walachia," had great vogue.

The foundation and capture (1453) of *Constantinople* was also a widely diffused legend possessing high popular interest as containing a prediction that the Russian nation would one day conquer the Turks and rule in the city on the Bosphorus.

Greek or Byzantine influence upon Russian fiction and literature generally is unmistakably marked up to the fall of Constantinople, but after the close of the sixteenth century began to decline in favour of the learned and scholastic element from the West. One of the most notable importations from Byzantium is the story of Varlaam and Joasaph (Barlaam and Josaphat), sometimes attributed to St. John Climacus, and often printed in the works of St. John Damascene, and generally thought to have been penned by the last-named, who would have heard this Eastern story at the Court of Damascus, and by a slight change invested it with a Christian character and moral. This story of the solitary Sage Varlaam who converts the Indian prince Joasaph to Christianity, is, like other early Indian romances, a frame for the introduction of



numerous parables and apologues, many of which are found separately in the various Russian *sborniki* or repertories, and furnished themes from *stikhi* or church canticles. Through the same Byzantine channel was also imported the collection of Bidpai's fables, under the title "Stephanit and Ichnilat," the crowned and the follower, the designations of the two courtier jackals who recite their stories and allegories to tsar Lion. The *Doukhovnia piesni* are sung or recited by the *kaliki* or pilgrims who make their way from village to village, and are the appeal or return made by them for the charities of the peasants. These hymns based on the wildest and most absurd apocryphal fabrications, full of marvel and mysticism—sensationalism—possessed a great charm for the masses of the people. They owed their diffusion chiefly to the Bogomil heretics in the South, especially the followers of the priest Bogomil in the tenth century, and rapidly spread northwards in great numbers. M. Galakhof observes that, "just as in the West, heretics paid special attention to spiritual poetry, and do so still, composing songs after the manner of those still in vogue among the old folk, or parodying the old songs."

Indeed, we in this country have too often at the expense of our ears and our Sunday's quiet, come to realize in recent years, the effect of religious ballads, of the most eccentric, not to say blasphemous complexion, upon multitudes far more advanced in secular knowledge than ever were Russian or Bulgarian peasants. Moreover, these heretical fictions, besides captivating the imagination, played upon the superstition and appealed to the materialism of the people. These songs were transmitted orally from generation to generation; but after the introduction of the press began to be printed. The subjectile material was at first strips or sheets of the soft inner bark of the linden tree *lub* or *lubok*, and the songs printed on this substance came to be known as *lubochnya kartinki*, a term which continued to denote the productions of the cheap press even after the adoption of paper, and which usually consisted of roughly drawn pictures accompanied by a few lines of letterpress, a sort of *Biblia Pauperum* in fact.

One of the Christmas *stikhi*, doubtless derived from some

apocryphal work now lost, and not as yet traced to any literary source, contains a curious story of the "Zhena Milosliva; or, Compassionate Woman." The verses relate how a certain woman is employed in kindling a fire, and holds in one arm her baby, when the Blessed Virgin with the child Jesus (or in some variants Jesus alone), fleeing from the Jews, appears before her and asks her to throw her own child into the fire and to take Christ in her arms. The woman obeys the behest, and upon the Jews coming up tells them that she has thrown the fugitive child into the fire (according to one variant he leaped into it of his own accord). The Jews perceiving in effect the legs and arms of a child in the flames were satisfied and desisted from the pursuit. In the meantime the infant Jesus had vanished, and the mother looking into the fire sees there her child alive and uninjured. The refrain "Alleluia" used with this ballad led to the adoption of Alleluia as the name of the woman. M. Galakhof states that the incident narrated served to incite fanatics to burn themselves and their children as a sacrifice to Christ.

The story of St. George is a favourite theme of the stikhi, and, however altered and embellished, undoubtedly rests upon traditions of very high antiquity.

The legend of "Yegor the Brave; or, St. George," has been preserved in both prose and verse and presents numerous variants which fall, however, into two chief categories. In one the delivery of the maiden from the snake or dragon is effected before, in the other after, the saint's martyrdom. The oldest icon representing this subject is, as far as the writer is aware, of the thirteenth century.\*

In the city of Laossia lived the tsar or king Selyevin, a worshipper of the idols Apollo, Herakles, Skamander and Artemis. God punished the city for its iniquity with a peculiar visitation. A terrible man-killing snake took up its abode near a neighbouring lake. The attack of the royal forces proving ineffectual, the king proposes to appease the monster by offering to it the children of rich and poor, beginning with his own only daughter. To this plan his subjects agree, but at the moment of trial the prince is seized with paternal pity

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\* Given in Prokhorov's "Christianskia Drevnosti" kn. 2.

and begs his people to spare him his only child. In vain, the maiden is led forth to be devoured by the snake.

At that time it happened that the Greek army was returning from a war with Persia, and in it the brave soldier George. At the bidding of God he turned aside to the lake, and perceiving the maiden promised to save her if she would believe in Christ. He addresses a prayer to God and hears in response an approving voice from heaven. Meanwhile the reptile has issued from the pool and is spurning venom at the saint, but when adjured with God's name changes this demeanour and begins to lick the feet of St. George; and reassured by this evidence of docility the princess, at the command of the hero, leads the dragon into the town, to the great consternation of the citizens. St. George now comes forward and offers them the alternative of believing in the true God, in which event he is ready to exterminate the monster, or of remaining idolatrous when he will set it free among them. The king and people opt for Christianity, Bishop *Alexander*, who seems to have been at hand, or promptly appears on St. George's summons, in fifteen days baptizes 40,000 souls; a spring of water which heals all ailments gushes from the earth, the saint departs amidst regretful ovations, a church is raised to his honour, and the princess, now christened Mary (in some versions, previously called Laodamia, in others unnamed), dedicates herself to God.

In the redaction of the legend in which this marvel occurs after St. George's death the city is called Heval, or Nagav, in Palestine, and the king offers his daughter only after the citizens have already sacrificed their children. There is no mention of the name of the bishop nor does the marvellous fountain appear. At his departure the saint, however, orders his feast to be kept on April 23rd, and upon the completion of the church, sends to it his shield, which remained suspended under the dome without any support. In another variant the city is named Pakleisko, and forms with Sodom and Gomorrah a triad which had provoked the wrath of God. The princess is here Elizabeth, a name which appears on an icon of the subject of the thirteenth century, and she is already a Christian, and therefore no favourite at home, for the King's spouse



approaches her husband in his dilemma with this counsel—  
 "Do not be anxious, sire, not cast down"

We have yet our daughter unbeloved,  
 Lizaveta Ogapitovna (daughter of Agapit)  
 We will give her to feed the cruel serpent;  
 Not our belief does she believe,  
 Not to our God does she pray,  
 She prays to the Crucified Lord.

Some of the stikhi contain curious additions and embellishments, *e. g.* the doomed princess is exhorted to deck herself as a bride—she strikes the monster and it turns into a swarm of reptiles. In one variant St. George appears to the princess when she is expecting to be devoured by the dragon. He lies down to sleep, bidding her wake him should the monster show himself. When, however, the dragon does put in an appearance, she is terror stricken and dares not rouse the hero, but falls a-weeping, and a tear which drops on the face of the sleeping Yegor, wakes him. The reader will hardly have expected to find the sleeping beauty myth in the history of St. George, yet, this curious variant certainly reminds one of it and would seem to relate to that old Indian tale. This romantic episode, it should be added, where not force, but a defenceless maiden's tear rouses our hero to action, is sometimes obscured; the tears are without this effect and the weeper has to awaken the somnolent saint with a knife stroke.

It is noteworthy that both Bulgarian and Cretan songs about St. George agree very closely with the Russian legend. The legend had already been differentiated into various forms before it had passed from Greek into the Slavonic languages. Of the martyrdom of St. George there are three main redactions—of which two are considered "apocryphal," and one is recognised by the "orthodox" Church. The oldest of the apocryphal variants dates back as far as the sixth century, and was diffused over the whole East among Mahometans as well as Christians. According to this version George suffered under the Persian monarch Dardian, and was subjected to tortures lasting over seven years, in the course of which he was thrice killed and thrice came to life again. The other apocryphal redaction names the hero's parents. His father, Gerontius



(Geraint), is a Pagan, but his mother, Polichronia, a Christian. He distinguishes himself by destroying idols, and for this misdemeanour is reported to the king by the Pagan priest, Selivan. When summoned to sacrifice he feigns obedience, in order to obtain access to the queen, whom he converts, and George, his mother, and the proselyte queen all suffer martyrdom.

The redaction recognised by the Russian Church\* has much in common with the first apocryphal version. George, however, suffers under Diocletian for seven days, not years; he is imprisoned, and a heavy stone placed on his breast; he is broken on the wheel, and thrown into a pit with quicklime, whence on the third day he rises unhurt. Spiked boots are then put on his feet, and he is beaten with rods and with ox-tendons; twice he drinks poison, which had been prepared by the magician Athanasius, but which proves ineffectual. He raises a corpse to life, and converts the resuscitated, together with Athanasius, the Empress Alexandra, and sundry others. When brought by Diocletian into a temple he overturns the idols by a word, and the emperor condemns him to death. A version essentially the same as the above, but with some omissions, is found in Greek as early as the eighth century. It is stated that no manuscripts of these stikhi have been found, and that it has only been written down from the mouths of the singers in comparatively recent times.

Of less serious tone and tendency than the stikhi or canticles, yet still containing a didactic or moral element, the "*Narodnua Legendui*," or popular prose legends, were like them founded on apocryphal literature. In these religious skazki often little remains but the name of the hero or the outline of the chief event, while all the rest is an invention of the popular fancy†

Numbers of short "laughter-raising" stories which had circulated amongst the bourgeois classes of the West found their way through Polish channels into Russia, such as the widow who obeyed her husband's dying behest to sell their cow, and make an offering of the price for the good of his soul, by selling the animal for a halfpenny, but coupling with

\* Afanasief, "*Narodnua Legendui*," 1860.

† Puipin, "*Narodnua Legendui*," in the *Sovremnienik*, 1860, tom. lxxx.

the bargain the sale of her cat for four pieces of gold. Such anecdotes, largely, of course, derived indirectly from the *jailleur* often lost their sprightly character for the more sombre or mournful colouring which so deeply tinges Russian literature, and generally underwent characteristic modification. Thus the villain of the tableau who gets inside Heaven by stratagem, and stays there by argument, is a toper who talks down the several saints charged to expel him, and whose tongues, as he tells them, are used only to set down the sober, but are quite unequal to cope with a tippler's. A story so contrary in tendency to the usual hortatory tales, was naturally regarded with an ill-eye, and was placed together with the story of Akir on the index of dangerous writings.

The first attempt at original fiction appears in the seventeenth century, and shows two strongly marked tendencies, conditioned by the general inclination of mankind to look upon every phenomenon from two opposite points of view, the pathetic and the humorous. This duality of impression especially prevailed amongst the best Russians of the seventeenth century, and it is then, accordingly, we first meet with facetious satire ridiculing reality and its shortcomings in the secular novel which now began to portray contemporary life, but had previously been precluded from development by the predominance of the religious element in the elder literature. The only production of the kind in question which appeared before the seventeenth century is the history of the Russian gentleman, Frole Skobyeev.

The hero of this curious story is the cunning intriguer, Phrol Skobyeev, a poor nobleman of Novgorod. Annoushka, the daughter of the rich Boyar Nastchokin, had told her nurse to ask several daughters of noblemen to spend the evening with her. Phrol Skobyeev happens to meet the nurse and bribes her to include his sister in the invitation. The latter obtains permission to bring an acquaintance who is no other than her own brother disguised in female attire. The nurse again bribed promotes a meeting between Skobyeev and her charge. When Annoushka learns who her visitor really is she is frightened, but is reconciled to him, and defends him against the blame of the nurse, concealed him in the house for three days, and then dismissed him with a gift of

300 roubles. All this takes place in the property of Nastchokin at Novgorod. He and his wife are at Moscow, where, meanwhile, suitors for the hand of their daughter come forward. Accordingly Annoushka is bidden to Moscow. A sister of Nastchokin's—a nun—begs that her neice may visit her, and promises to send a carriage to bring her. Annoushka at once acquaints Skobyeev with her aunt's intention, and he borrows a carriage from his friend Lovchikof in order as he tells him to pay a visit to his betrothed, makes the coachman drunk, assumes his clothes, and drives to Nastchokin's house, as if sent by his sister, the nun. He drives her off in the carriage, and they are secretly married. At length Nastchokin learns that his daughter is not, as he supposed, with her aunt, and sets enquiries on foot. Nastchokin now threatens Lovchikof that he will implicate him, as he had lent his carriage, unless he intercedes for him, which Lovchikof feels constrained to promise he will do. It is accordingly concerted that Skobyeev shall publicly ask forgiveness of his father-in-law, who, upon learning what has become of his daughter, is beside himself with rage, and resolves to denounce Skobyeev. Eventually cooler counsel prevails with him, anger gives place to chagrin, and he sends to enquire after his daughter's health. Skobyeev enjoins Annoushka to simulate illness, tells the messenger that her parents' anger and reproaches have brought her to the brink of the grave, and her only hope is in their immediate blessing. They at once comply, and back the blessing with a substantial store of good things, the burden of six horses. Subsequently reconciliation was completed, and Skobyeev, upon Nastchokin's death, inherits his vast wealth. The calm recital of Skobyeev's rogueries, devoid of any idealism, actuated only by the most material motives, reminds one rather of the picturesque novels of Spain, and contrasts with the romances of chivalry.\*

Indigenous as we have seen the raw material of earlier Russian fiction to be, it has upon adoption been invested with a strong Slavonic character and local colour. These were not

\* With the story of Skobyeev may be ranked the "Histories of the Russian Sailor, Vassily Koriotsky," and of "The Brave Russian Cavalier Alexander," which, however, appeared at a later period.

The history of "Frol Skobyeev" was re-cast by I. Novikof, under the title of "*The adventures of Ivan Tostinny*," published with other tales in 1785-6.

direct or servile imitations of foreign products—on the contrary, the importations were in most cases so modified and disguised that it has required all the erudition of modern scholars to trace them to their sources. In the seventeenth century, however, this ceased to be the case, and though the popular native stories still continued to please the lower classes, and even to some extent to stimulate recasts or similar productions, translations from the romances and fictions of France and other countries were freely made, and became the model for direct and generally very feeble imitations which ruled the fashion of the time. But we could not pursue the subject further without exceeding the restricted space in which we have endeavoured to give a brief account of some of the earlier legends and tales of Russia, and, indeed, we have reached the halting point between the old and the modern Russian literature. If the old “folk-tales” strongly reflect the characteristics of the race, the modern Russian literature of fiction, as we may hope, on some future occasion to show, is still more, the truest expression of the nation’s wants and aspirations.

H. WILSON.

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## PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO CHILDREN.

**I**N the course of the last few years there has sprung up an institution on behalf of children under the somewhat startling, and almost self-condemnatory title, "The National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children," for the purpose of discovering those sufferings and sorrowings of children which are needless and wilfully inflicted upon them by adults, and of putting a stop to them.

The published and authenticated results of the beginnings of its work are of such a serious nature, and of such serious proportion, as to alarm at least those of us who regard the condition of the home life of people as eclipsing all other matters of interest to a nation, and more especially to the Church. Some years of the work of that Society has passed so severe a judgment upon certain phases of that life that Parliament has passed, and is now passing, measures to strengthen its hands. The police authorities, both of the City of London and the Metropolis, and of Dublin, Belfast, and Cork, and of almost everywhere where its agencies are at work have welcomed it; and judicial opinion from the Petty Sessional Court to the Assize has recognised it as an essential to national well-being.

Before putting the case of the society, I will add what is of paramount importance to Catholics, viz., that its principles and its procedure have now the approval of the highest authorities in the Catholic Church.

The Cardinal, Archbishop of Westminster, the Bishops of Salford, Nottingham, Plymouth, Portsmouth, and Southwark are amongst its subscribers and active supporters.

In the disposal of such children as may have to be taken from hopelessly dissipated and vicious parents it has bound itself by the statute it has passed (52 and 53 Vic., chap. 44) to give all Catholic children to Catholic custody.

"In determining on the person to whom the child shall be *so committed*, the court shall endeavour to ascertain the

"religious persuasion to which the child belongs, and shall, if possible, select a person of the same religious persuasion. And such religious persuasion shall be specified in the order; and in any case where the child has been placed pursuant to any such order with a person not of the same religious persuasion as that to which the child belongs, the court shall, on the application of any person in that behalf, and on its appearing that a fit person of the same religious persuasion is willing to undertake the charge, make an order to secure his being placed with a person of the same religious persuasion."

The principle on which it determines a Catholic child is the Church in which it was baptised. Though this should involve much trouble to find, it takes the trouble; and though in the result it has to take the child from what is at the time Protestant custody, it takes it from Protestant custody. It allows no Aid Committee, not its most remote, to be a Protestant Committee, nor to be opened with Protestant prayer. By its constitution, which every committee has formally to accept before it is incorporated as one of the Society's branches, it forbids anything to be done "which is contrary to the principles of any particular religious persuasions." Protestants Catholics and Jews are all upon an equal footing in its committees, and their activities. At its shelter, where temporary roof and food are given to children pending trials and during their wrong doers' imprisonment, Catholic children practise the rites of their Church. Their bed-time prayer is a Catholic prayer from the Catholic Catechism. They are taken to Mass by a Sister or other person appointed by the local Priest. Cruelty is that with which the Society deals, everything else is left to the Church, to which the victims of it belong and for seven years in partly Catholic London, and for three in mainly Catholic Dublin, for four in largely Catholic Preston (Lancashire) and for varying periods in sixty other centres of population in England and Ireland (including Cork and Belfast), Catholic and Protestant work side by side, with complete satisfaction, alike with the adopted principles, and with the active policy by which they are all governed. That this is the universal experience has its reason in the fact that Aid Committees are not companies of persons loosely

associated in virtue of a common name, doing similar sort of work, but in their own ways, and as best they can. They are bodies of persons who have considered, accepted, and united under one constitution, having both local and national and identical methods—are indeed one corporate body, having a common life and action and purse, enforcing the proper treatment of children according to their rights under the law.

The Society's results are simply appalling. To put them briefly: Since its formation in 1884 it has dealt with 15,906 complaints, of which 10,179 were proved to be true. These cases affected the welfare of 34,168 children. Of these 6,374 were warned and 1,800 prosecuted, of which 1,540 were convicted. The cruelties were—

General ill-treatment ...	...	...	2,203.
Assaults ...	...	...	1,995.
Neglect and starvation ...	...	...	7,636.
Abandonment ...	...	...	434.
Begging ...	...	...	1,281.
Exposure ...	...	...	810.
Cruel immorality ...	...	...	720.
Other wrongs ...	...	...	867.

In 8,691 cases, warnings, more or less formal and stern were given, followed by supervision. In 2,225 there were prosecutions, and such is the care and skill of the Society in its Court cases that 92 per cent. of this terrible tale were convicted. The total period of imprisonment inflicted was 376 years, the amount of fines, £567. These terrible figures are of less than one-fourth of the country.

In view of the conditions under which these cruelties took place, they become still more significant. As regards the size of families in which cruelties have been dealt with, the analysis of the 10,169 cases of the last two years shows:

Families with 2 children in, or less ...	2,579.
"      "      3      "      "      "      ...	6,025.
"      "      4      "      "      "      ...	1,205.
"      "      5      "      "      or more ...	360.

The average number of children in the families of the cruel in these 10,000 cases is 2.78.

As to wages, there were only 396 cases in which these were below 20s. a week. In upwards of 3,000 cases the minimum actual wage was 27s. 6d., which, but for many men caring only to earn enough for their own wants, might have been doubled.

The cases have included the children of the drunkard; of the devil-may-care and idle, of the married and estranged, the married and unfaithful and of the unmarried; of the dead; of the tramp; of the better and gamblers; of the speculator in child-life insurance, of the advertising child slaughterer known as baby farmers, of the avaricious and greedy, and of the exceptional class which is cruel without any reason but that it has an implacable hatred of helplessness.

None of these classes would furnish portrait models for a Chamber of Horrors not even the professional baby slaughterer. They range from people of the ordinary face to what is usually regarded as sweetly celestial.

The victims are too helpless to put "type" into their enemies' countenances. Besides, to those who mortally hurt a child its life or death is in most cases little more than an irritating fly's. It is not even always so much as that. Found guilty of starving her motherless baby sister to death, a woman actually pleaded as her defence, "My mother did not look after *my* child, therefore I did not look after *hers*."

The only person in the mind of the torturer of the child was, if anybody, not the child, but the child's dead mother. The motive of cruelty is of the cruel person's own self loathing. A drunken cook, who at every opportunity struck the child she ought not to have had with sticks, boots, pans, and on one occasion with a carving knife, cutting open her arm, and then refusing to allow even the child herself to bind it up, gave as the one reason for it all, "I can't bear the sight of her." Generally speaking, the faults with which children are credited by cruel people are the illusions of bad minds. Hating the child hateful things are seen in it. The devil in *them* sees a devil in the *child*.

Speaking with experience of 12,000 children's cases it is almost universally true that the more innocent and simple the



child is—the better looking-glass does it make for its haters to see their own black villany in.

As regards cases of savagery, especially of persistent savagery, the real root of their savagery is mainly two-fold, it is, first, a sullen ill-conditioned disposition, and, secondly, a cowardice which limits its gratification to unresisting and helpless things. Men become addicted to cruelty, as they become addicted to drink and gambling. It is a vile pleasure, in which they indulge, some occasionally, some persistently, making their homes into little hells. In some cases drink, trouble, and more or less of provocation and the like may temporarily and grievously aggravate its expression, but these things are not its real cause, and with its worst and most chronic forms they are not even associated. As regards the larger number of cases of passive and deliberate neglect, resulting in starvation, idleness, drunkenness, and avarice. In one year of these cases, 1,298 of the victims were found to be insured for a gross sum of £6,019, being an average of £4 12s. 8d. per child. So many were admitted by the culprits to be insured. It is morally certain that many more were so, where insurance was denied from motives of shame or of self-protection.

If one asks how it is that the Society has discovered facts so wholly hidden and unsuspected till it came into existence, the answer is simple and plain. The reason is threefold. Until the Society created one, there was no agency to deal with children's cases. The police went through the streets with an eye for the offences committed in the streets, but offences against children were committed in the house, at the table, in the sick room. Though the effect of the crime might find its way into the street, to the hospital, to the coroner's jury, the crime, the act producing what went there was surrounded with all the privacy and secrecy of the home, and not one step were the police allowed to take to get at it until someone had laid an information at the police station. Mr Justice Field recently finding, in a case of manslaughter brought before him, that a good-hearted constable had been acting as an ordinary man, not within his limits as a policeman, and that he had initiated it, dismissed the case, remarking that in the getting of it up a great constitutional principle had been violated. The police must not take any proceedings save upon a complaint of a

common citizen, or with regard to an offence which he himself has seen committed. But that excludes all bedroom and indoor offences against children. Babies cannot lay information; and children not babies, do not. Besides, were the child able to get out and it was disposed to make complaint, and did it dare to do so the very last man who would be thought of to tell its hunger and pain to would be a policeman.

Again though it is true that sufficient liberty for the work of finding these crimes out was possessed by ordinary citizens for various and obvious reasons they were not fitted for it. A neighbour of three locked-up children, whose loud cryings had subsided to moans, their moans to silence, when asked why he did not break open the door or at least give information to the authorities gave expression to one of their reasons, "I finds it best to mind my own business." That is how things appear to the minds of shrewd practical people. Besides, in many cases those who know of what went on next door were possibly doing things as bad themselves, and as "evil communications corrupt good manners" and confirm bad ones, it came to pass that in "habitations of cruelty" neighbours had neither the motive nor the disposition to interfere. In such cases they failed the suffering child and no one so far can impute blame to them. It was no more their business to interfere than anybody else's.

Once more, those people who had the disposition to act had neither the knowledge nor the training necessary to do so. To be fitted for the work a man must have a particular and fixed kind of mind. Going his way through the streets, the eye must be accustomed to look not at shops and carriages and people but at children. The heart must delight in the joys of children with marbles and skipping rope, and feel sadness and pain at the sight of the child who is limp and weary and sad and helpless looking. The tendency of the botanist going to the field is to see its flowers, and the entomologist its insects. So going through the world the children's man must see its children and seeing the miserable among them his vocation must be to use his judgment on them, to learn what is to be learnt as to the cause of their misery. To do this, much time and tact is required of him. He must be able to see through a stone wall, and to make a dumb child speak—for a fright-

ened, ill-used child is a dumb child, and its home is the secret place of its owner. It is because the society has met these conditions of discovery of cruelties to children that it has discovered them. It was because it was assumed that agencies which appeared to be sufficient were actually sufficient that cruelties existed and were undetected and unchecked. There was no just estimate of the relations which existed between what had to be done in the case and the police, the neighbours, and the ordinary citizen.

Limitations still further existed in the state of the law as regards the most elementary and vital duties of parents to their children. To prevent misconception let there be no mistake as to what the Society sought in this matter, proper parental discipline the Society would by all means in its power uphold. It never interferes with, much less does it prosecute mere parental indiscretions, nor any painful and hasty acts, even to the breaking of a limb, where there is abundant, genuine, and whole-hearted regret. These are never prosecuted. Only where there is absolute callousness or contempt and hatred of a child, where the pains and injuries inflicted on it are matters of utter difference, does it record the punishments of the law as both wise and necessary. In the exercise of reasonable chastisement the law protects parents, nor does the action of the Society afford the smallest grounds for fear that this necessary liberty will be interfered with. Its war is against domestic ruffians and famine makers, who at the time of its coming into existence were almost wholly a law to themselves. It was to alter that condition of things that the Society undertook its work.

1. A child had even no right of law to be treated reasonably, nor even to be fed.

2. Before a child's statement could be evidence it had to understand the nature of an oath, which was not possible to a young child.

3. An innocent parent (often the only witness of the inflictions of a child's injuries) could not give evidence on its behalf against the guilty one.



4 Unless it had money, however horribly guilty a wretch the parental owner might be, there was no authority which could give a child a new guardian.

5 If a child were being tormented in its owner's house, or locked up there to pine, neglected and alone, though in a manner likely to prove fatal, it was in nobody's power to give authority to get at it and rescue it.

6 Information had to be laid on its behalf. It could not lay it itself, it was nobody's business to lay it.

It is now two years since all this was so.

By changes made in the standing of children and their cases in courts a mighty lever has been given with which to uplift the sense of parental responsibility. But public sentiment is slow to come abreast of the law. The doctrine that all parents might be trusted to do what was natural and right—no longer the doctrine of the Statute Book—is still the doctrine of the nation. Rejoicing that the legal rights of a dog are secured, it is still contended that the legal rights of a child scarcely exist. Loud as to "the rights of parents," it utters scarcely a word on the equal rights of children. With the popular and consensical maxim, "The Englishman's house is his castle," it practically bars the door of the veriest wretches' hovel against justice. In its creed the basest dens of infamy should be strangely without the reach of Parliament or the Crown. This is not its sentiment as regards any offence against property, but is so as regards all offences against children. Much responsibility for the sufferings of children lay, and still lies, in these extravagant national sentiments as to parental and house-rent-payers' rights. With these the nation washes its hands of all responsibility for whatever the home consequences may be of parental and rentpayers' spite and callousness and dissipation.

In that measure of change in these respects which the Society has wrought (and is still working) is the bottom reason for the unwelcome discoveries it has made, but primarily they are due to the Statute which it passed in 1889, known popularly as the "Children's Charter," which legally entitles children to be clothed and fed and properly treated, to admission into courts, to the protection of the evidence of an



innocent parent; to limited hours of labour; to new guardianship when that is necessary for their welfare; and to the great benefits never possessed before; and to the administrative co-operation of the police.

To what extent the absolute trusting in all parents to do for their children what was right and natural, and to them it has been wise is seen in the immediate effects of making parents starving and ill-treating illegal. The following is a table showing cruelty dealt with by the Society in the year *before* and the year *after* the passing of the Society's Act:—

Cruelty to children dealt with in 1888-9 and 1889-90

	Twelve Months before.	Twelve Months after.
	September 1st, 1888, to August 31st, 1889.	September 1st, 1889, to August 31st, 1890.
Children involved	869	10,522
Offenders	453	4,066
Offenders warned	270	2,423
Offenders prosecuted	148	857
Percentage of conv'tns	77·42	90·89

The effects produced by the Act are still increasing in the same direction. It is only beginning to confer on children the rights of citizens, but it is doing it at the rate of 20,000 a year.

As regards Ireland it is scarcely touched yet: but the following figures of what has been found in those small areas which for short periods have a society's officer working in them show that, as in the rest of the three kingdoms, the neglected and needlessly suffering children even in Ireland whose voices are not heard in the street.

Table showing the results of the Society's work in Ireland since the formation of its three Aid Committees—(one in Belfast at work six months; one in Cork at work nine months and one in Dublin at work two years and a half)—

ALL COMMITTEES													
Total of cases	At present	Under trial	Under sentence	Under sentence	Under sentence	Under sentence	Under sentence	Under sentence	Under sentence				
132	74	27	2	23	2	241	2	2	104				
138	94	20	0	11	0	363	6	2	25				
168	72	35	5	41	5	383	2	0	25				
Grand Total	438	244	82	75	7	1027	11	6	£10 15s 6d				
THE ANALYSIS OF THE ABOVE CASES IS AS FOLLOWS													
ALL COMMITTEES	CLASSIFICATION						HOW DEALT WITH			PENALTIES		CHILDREN INVOLVED	
	Abuse of Power	Abuse of Power	Abuse of Power	Abuse of Power	Abuse of Power	Abuse of Power	Provisional	Dismissed	Other Cases	Total Time of Imprisonment	Total Sum of Fines		Number known to be Involved
BELFAST.													
April to Oct. 31st, 1891	14	94	3	17	5		27	2	78	23	2	58	272
Cork.													
April to Oct. 31st, 1891	34	53	15	5	1		18		71	11	0		
Jan. to Mar., 1891	11	12	3	2			2		23	2	0		
Total	45	65	18	7	1		20		94	13	0		
DUBLIN.													
April to Oct. 31st, 1891	5	38	8				19	2	16	13	0		
1889 1890	4	11	1	3			2	1	11	5	0		
1890 1891	23	59	6	2	1	2	14	2	45	34	0		
Total.	32	108	15	5	1	2	35	5	72	41	5		
TOTAL CASES, 438.										Children involved, 1067.			

The folly, may we not say the wickedness, of the old state of things is now made clear and certain.

But to understand this point fully an important consideration must be applied to these figures. They are of cruelties found in but one-fifth of the land. In four-fifths of it the Statute is as yet in little more than law volumes. There is no Children's Man to enforce it, and where that is so, crimes against children so far as statistics of what is discovered are concerned, is non-existent. With the same agency for children to population everywhere the figures would have arisen from before the Act, 4,395 to after it 52,610. Granting the general similarity of the conduct of evil-hearted people in England, Ireland, and Wales, is it not clear that those who preserve the arbitrary, plausible and self-complacent delusion that our civilisation has no cruelty to children in it, and who, either by opposition or indifference, prevent the establishment of the Society's agencies are responsible for the public's continued ignorance and of the brutes' continued practice of it in their own particular neighbourhood. Crimes committed against children there are, partially at least, theirs.

Remembering what are the discovered facts of that cruelty discovered in wide areas, including town and country almost equally, in manufacturing and agricultural districts, in high life and low, no man ought to treat even such merely possible responsibility lightly. Neither the highest place in the ranks of manhood, nor in that of citizenship, nor that of Christianity can belong to him who does not regard it with the greatest anxiety and pain. For in the light of what has become known, what is that possibility? Most of the victims have been young; many were babies, made habitually to feel the faintness of famine, the oppression of hatred, and scarifying and curses, with blows and kicks, and floggings with the oppressors' straps, pokers, ropes, boots, chairs, kettles, and frying pans; diggings into with prongs of fork and blade of knife; putting mustard oil into wounds, hanging up by the neck by a slip strap to a hook in the kitchen ceiling until black in the face and unconscious; thrusting a poker redhot through the closed lips into the mouth, burning lips, tongue and under the tongue; putting bare little thighs on top of hot ironing stove; making child grasp redhot poker; beat-

ing with a poker on the head, making, as the doctor called it a "ring of bruises" completely round it, throwing sick child out of the window, breaking arm and leg; deliberately taking off comforting plaster cast put on to little cripple at hospital, smashing it, throwing it under the bed, and leaving the puny creature to pine in pain again day and night; fixing big jaws of teeth in the fat of the thigh while child under bed for refuge, dragging it out, standing up with it, and shaking it "as a dog shakes a rat," flinging a baby across a room at a wall, immersing for half an hour naked in freezing tank, out of doors lying naked, to post in the yard, in the night; putting in yard for two hours tied in chair, child with bronchitis; deliberately taking off splints newly put upon broken leg, and of wantonness, making child go about so; sending child about with broken arm, of malice to it, and cruel starvations when there was plenty, and imprisonment in attics and coal cellars for days, without so much as a drop of water. And most of all these deeds scarcely known to the neighbours, and wholly unknown to those going as "visitors" by the little victims' door.

The conscience of no one can be void of reproach for these things until every effort has been made to apply such test to his own town and country, as have elsewhere brought such shameful, abominable, incredible things to light. His justification for not making such an effort, "No cruelty here" — has been the cry of leading persons in every single place from which these awful facts and figures above have been gathered. Such persons were misled by the superficial aspect of things, and now own it.

Granted that in particular localities spitefulness and cowardice, drunkenness and avarice may vary in both quantity and quality yet the average of these things in every portion of the population—the proportion appointed to a Society's inspector—is much the same. In this fact lies the justification of the Society's mission to the whole land, and its claim on the faith of its inhabitants. Surely the duty of every citizen and above all, of every Christian is to see that to the helplessness of childhood, is not added the pain of needless hunger and the tears of tyranny and injustice.

BENJAMIN WAUGH



## OLD CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS.

**S**TUDENTS of history in the present day possess many advantages that were denied to their predecessors; not only is this true from the fact that many chronicles and other historical manuscripts have been printed, which in the days of Dr. Lingard and Bishop Milner existed only in manuscript, but record-offices and other depositories of manuscripts have been thrown open in most European countries, and in many instances their contents have been accurately callendared. True as the above is as to the raw materials used by the political historian, it is still more true as to those things which relate to the social and domestic history of the people.

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the scholars of the last century wrote as if they did not know that their own forefathers ever had a history apart from that of kings and parliaments. A fragment of Roman pavement or a funeral urn was valued then as much as it is now. Anything, however trivial, which threw light upon, or could claim association with, the heathen Roman Empire was felt to be of undying interest, but it never seems to have occurred to anyone, except perhaps here and there a local antiquary of the type of Francis Blomefield, the industrious Norfolk historian, that manners and thoughts, joys and sorrows of our mediæval ancestors, were worthy of at least as much minute attention as the dress and arms of the legionaries, or the ornaments of a Roman lady's toilet-table. The consequence of this neglect has been that numberless records that we should now value have passed away beyond recovery.

There is a class of documents of especial interest, specimens of which must at one time have existed in almost every parish through the land, which has now become very rare. We allude to the account books of parish churchwardens. When the office of churchwarden was first established in this country we have no means of knowing. It is probably nearly as old as the introduction of Christianity. As soon as the Kingdom of God became a settled institution churches sprung up all

around. Many were doubtless new fabrics. We are certain that in some instances the heathen temples were adapted to Christian uses. It is obvious that these buildings and the burial grounds which surrounded them would require care and supervision. The needs of the worshippers were by no means confined to the fabric itself, and the God's-acre. Vestments, books, chalices, candlesticks, and many other objects were then, as now, required for use in the services. These were of course, in a legal sense the property of the parish, and therefore it became necessary that certain persons should be appointed to take charge of them.

When light dawns upon us we find the churchwarden a recognised institution. There were usually two in each parish, but this was by no means the universal custom. In some small villages but one seems to have been chosen. In large parishes, made up of several hamlets, their number was sometimes much greater. Whether, however, they were few or many they were persons of great local dignity during their time of office, forming, as they did, not only the priests' advisers in the temporal matters relating to the church's services, but also as discharging many functions which have now been handed over by successive Acts of Parliament to more modern authorities. There were no poor-laws in Catholic times, but there were poor in the land then as now, and it was one part of the churchwarden's duty to see to their temporal wants. In many cases they discharged the functions now performed by the surveyors of the highways, and we find them sometimes constituted into masters of the revels, paying the expenses of strolling players when they came to amuse the rustics.

As far as we know church rates in a compulsory form did not exist in those days. Money sufficient for the Church's wants seems to have been freely given. The evidence, however, that has come down to our times is so very defective that it would be rash to make an affirmation of this kind. We should not be much surprised if, when the old episcopal registers come to be thoroughly overhauled, instances should be found of ill-conditioned folk being cited into the bishop's courts for refusing to give their quota to supply their Church's wants.

When the churchwardens began to keep their accounts in writing it is impossible to tell. In early days a tally or notched

stick was probably all the evidence they had to shew when they met their neighbours in the parish meeting. We know, however, that in some places Manor Court Rolls were kept as early as the reign of Henry the Third. It is therefore probable that the ecclesiastical accounts would be reduced to writing at about the same time. A few fragments may exist of earlier date, but the oldest churchwardens' accounts now in being which we have heard of are those of St. Michael's, Bath, which begin in 1345. They have been printed in a volume issued by the Somerset Record Society in 1890. Time has spared several examples of the succeeding century, and during the stormy times of religious change they became relatively common. Unfortunately, however, it is but in quite recent days that their value has become realised. Many have never been examined by those who can read them, and of those that are not unknown there are but few that have been printed in full. It need not be pointed out that extracts made by efficient scholars are far better than nothing, but records of this kind, which are so intimately connected with the lives of those who have gone before us, should certainly be given in full.

We have before us while we write a transcript of the accounts of Sutterton, a Lincolnshire village, which, like many of its sister parishes still possesses a fine church, containing examples of nearly every architectural style known in Mediæval England. We owe the preservation of this interesting record to the zeal of Dr. Richard Rawlinson, a non-juring minister, who died in 1735, leaving his collection of manuscripts to the Bodleian Library. It begins in 1483, which, we may remind our readers, was the last year of Edward the Fourth. Here, as in every other old account-book of this nature, the bills are constantly subjects of small charges. They were no doubt in constant use. We learn this incidentally from the writings of the puritan Phillip Stubbs John Bunyan, and many like sources.

Our forefathers were fond of bell-ringing, and delighted in the sweet voices of the bells. The latter were used for secular as well as for religious purposes. Not only were they rung when a great man came to the town, or when a fire burst forth, but every morn and eve, as a sign when the stock was to be turned out on the commons and summoned home at night.



In the first year of these accounts the receipts were mainly derived from candles, sometimes the payment made by one person is as low as a penny, occasionally it reaches as high as tenpence. It would seem from the purchases of wax which occur in almost every church account we have seen of a date earlier than the reign of Edward the Sixth, that the churchwardens were in the habit of buying considerable quantities of wax which they made into candles. Some of these were used in the parish services, others sold to the various devout persons who burnt them before the various altars, usually, as it would seem, as a devotion for the dead.

In 1484 we come upon a small payment for the repair of the "Kyrk house." The Church house is a feature of our rural life which has almost entirely passed out of memory. We believe that there is not a single example left in Britain which has been retained for its original purposes, though there are one or two old buildings that have some claim to be regarded as the remains of such structures. It is not easy to define what were the uses of the Church house. We shall not mislead our readers, perhaps, if we call it the public hall of the village, though it seems to have been used for many purposes to which the town halls of boroughs were not applied. Such evidence as has come down to the present time points to their having been one in almost every village. No one ever seems to have lived in the Church house but it was used for every purpose of village life for which the nearest edifice itself would have been improper or inconvenient. At Sutterton we find lime stored therein. At Stratton, in Cornwall, it was let out at fair times to pedlars.\* In other places it was used for the parish ale-feasts, and we have evidence of the malt, the armour, and the parish brewing vessels being stored therein. We have not seen evidence of the fact, but it was probably in the Church house that the candles of which we have spoken were run into moulds.

In 1490 we find the plough-light mentioned. Among the receipts is a sum of ten shillings paid by "Thomas Raffyn of the plowlyth." Plough-guilds were very common in the eastern shires. We have met with them at Leverton,

\* "Archæologia," vol. xvi., p. 198.



Holbeach, Kerton-on-Lindsey, and Louth, all in Lincolnshire. The plough-light was no doubt the lamp or candle burned at the guild-altar. It would seem that some symbol, probably a plough, was also used, for when the Church of Holbeach was despoiled in the reign of Edward the Sixth one of the things disposed of was "The sygne wheron the plowyghe did stand."\* In 1493 two pence was paid for a lock to the font. The grand old Norman Font of Lincoln Minster shows no traces of its ever having been locked; but this is a solitary example. In every other mediæval English font we have seen, traces may be found of the place of the staple to which the padlock for securing it was once hung. In the orders concerning the ornaments of churches, issued by Archbishop Winchelsey, we find that a lock to the font was to be provided, and among the decrees of the council of Durham, held in 1220, we find "*Fontes sub sera clausi teneantur propter sortilegia*."† We do not know what was the special sort of magic which it was here endeavoured to hinder. It would seem that in Cornwall fonts even in Protestant times had to be secured for the same reason. The water from the font has in comparatively recent times been used to make butter come.‡ In some parts of Europe these precautions have to be taken at the present time. The late Mr. Benjamin Webb found the font locked up, and behind a grating in the Church of Malalbergo.§

In 1497 we meet, for the first time, with a word which is of constant occurrence in documents of this sort. It assumes protean forms such as Witward, Wythewird, Quethwird and many others. The late Dr. Stratmann suggested that it was connected with the Icelandic *vitord*, a testament.|| In its English forms there can be no doubt that it signifies a legacy. Two years after this, that is in 1499, we find a mention of one penny being paid for silk to be used in mending the blue vestment. This is noteworthy as blue is not now one of the ecclesiastical colours, and some persons have assumed that it

\* Marrat. *Hist. Lanc.*, vol. ii., p. 104.

† Wilkins "*Concilia*" I., 576.

‡ W. G. Black "*Folk Medicine*" (*Folk Lore Soc.*), p. 89.

§ "*Continental Ecclesiology*," p. 40.

|| "*Dict. of Old English*," II. Ed., p. 568, c.f. "*Catholicon Anglicum*" (*E. E. T. S.*) 422.

was never used in this country. In 1570 there is a small charge for a "lyne to the sacrament," that is a cord used for suspending the little box which contained the Blessed Sacrament. Tabernacles, as we know them, do not seem to have come into use in England before the reign of Mary the First. The little box containing the Blessed Sacrament was hung up over the high altar. It was commonly of precious metal, and in the form of a cup or globe, with crowns suspended over it. This vessel was enclosed in a thin veil of cloud-like muslin. Sometimes, though we believe rarely, it had the form of a dove.\*

There are instances of this vessel being called, in irony, "the Bishop of Rome's Hatt"† The nickname was given by profane persons on account of the fancied likeness between the crowns by which it was surmounted and the Papal tiara. In Peasmore Church, in Berkshire, there was in the reign of Edward the Sixth a crowned pyx of this kind. The inventory tells us of "one canopy of black saye, hanging over the pyxe with three crownes"; In 1512 we find recorded the purchase of two "maundes" for holy-bread. Maund signifies a basket. Though the word has died out of written English, we believe that it still survives in more than one of our dialects. The use of holy bread, though still common in France, has not been restored in this country, though the form of its benediction occurs on the missal. It seems to have been distributed in almost every parish. We do not call to mind ever having come upon a pre-reformation Church account which did not contain some mention of it. Every Catholic is aware that the holy-bread or eulogia has no connection with the blessed Eucharist but this is a piece of knowledge which does not seem to be possessed by all Protestants. We have met with English travellers, who, having seen the distribution of the *Pain blanc* have come home and assured their friends that they have seen in this or that Church in France the holy Eucharist given under the form of leavened bread.

Many examples old and new, might be given. A grotesque one occurs in many editions of *As You Like It*. Shakespeare

\* Dr. Rock, "Church of Our Fathers," Vol. III, part II., p. 206.

† Peacock. "English Church Furniture," p. 70.

‡ Money. "Church Goods of Berkshire," p. 30.

makes Rosalind say of Orlando, "His kissing is as full of sanctity as the touch of holy bread" (Act III, sc. iv). This has been constantly altered to the nonsensical form 'holy-beard'. We believe the emendation to be due, in the first instance, to Bishop Warburton. In the Oxford edition of *The Dramas* 1743 (a work of great account in its day), the following idiotic note is given on this usage, "Meaning the kiss of charity from Hermits and holy men."

The giving of holy bread was one of the ceremonies to which our forefathers were much attached. One of the demands of the men of Devonshire, who, in 1549, tried to stem the rising tide of heresy, was that they should have holy bread and holy water every Sunday, and when these same persons besieged Exeter they had borne before them the blessed Eucharist under a canopy with crosses, candlesticks, banners, holy bread and holy water.\*

These meagre extracts might have been almost indefinitely increased, but we have said enough to show how even the dog memoranda of parish officials throw light upon the religious customs of those who lived in days ere change was thought of. The last entries in the volume are of the year 1536, so that we must look elsewhere for facts which illustrate the changes that followed. The church accounts of Bishop Stortford were edited some years ago by Mr. J. L. Glasscock. As they cover the times of revolutionary change they are useful in tracing the progress of events. We are too much in the habit of thinking that the reformation came as a sudden blow. Henry the Eighth and his ministers, reckless as they were, dare not have ventured upon this. In 1540 the king's order was issued that an English bible of the largest volume should be provided for every church. It was not until two years after, that the authorities of Bishop Stortford felt called upon to obey these injunctions. In 1542 we find a charge "for a new bybill and the bryngyng home of it vis. id. This seemeth to have been the sole change. As far as we can gather the services for the present went on as in times past. The organs were in use, and the ordinary processions took place as they had done before the schism.

\* "Cranmer Works" (Parker Soc.) I. 176.  
*Restaurata* (E.H.S.) I. 158.

Heylin. "Ecclesiastical



In 1547 we find destruction had begun. There is a charge of xvjd. for "taking downe of the things in the Roodeloft," that is, for removing the crucifix and its attendant figures of our Blessed Lady and Saint John. In 1550 there are obscure entries concerning the change of the services from Latin into English, and a charge for the purchase of the Paraphrase of Erasmus, a copy of which had been ordered to be exposed for the use of the people in all parish churches. In 1553, the first year of Mary, there are many entries pointing to the restoration of the Catholic rites. A rood is bought for which twenty shillings is paid, a pyx, a missal, a holy-water stoup, a cross and other articles, for which smaller sums are paid.

In 1559 the last great change occurred. The altars are pulled down, the rood loft done away with, and the Ten Commandments set up in the Church—probably in the place where the rood had stood, though it was not uncommon to fasten them at the extreme east end of the choir. The writers of the times immediately succeeding these great changes were in the habit of representing this setting up of the decalogue in the sight of the people as a great change for the better, implying that before the time when it was to be seen limned on a board that the people were ignorant of the moral teaching of the Gospel. Such nonsense is not worth a serious answer, but it may be worth while to remark that whatsoever advantage was to be gained by the decalogue being before the eyes of the people the arrangement was not a new thing introduced by Tudor legislators. In 1488 an inventory was taken of the ornaments of the Church of St. Christopher-le-Stocks, London and among the pictures—tables, as they were called in those days—was one of the Ten Commandments.

We fear these disconnected extracts have already extended so far as to weary our readers. They might have been continued much further without exhausting the subject of religious change. From other points of view these old papers are of great value. There is no other source from which we can derive so clear a picture of what our old parish churches were like ere the hand of the spoiler came upon them. They have also no little interest for those who study the dialect and pronunciation of former days, and for the historian of prices they are invaluable.

EDWARD PEACOCK



## SAVING OUR SCHOOLS AND THEIR CATHOLIC TEACHING.

### I.

LAST quarter we gave our opinion as to the way in which the Voluntary Schools may be saved. That opinion has been abundantly confirmed both by correspondence and conversations with a large number of representative persons. Politicians, and gentlemen in direct connection with the Education Department, have again and again expressed their conviction that the present calm is but a lull before the storm, and that we shall all do well to prepare to meet the inevitable establishment of local control, in some form or another, over the national or public elementary schools of the Kingdom. The plan to place that local control *in the hands of the parents* of the children under education, instead of *in the hands of rate-payers*, who have no claim whatever to step in between the parent and the child, was abundantly urged from both sides of the House of Commons last summer: and we gave last October such extracts from the speeches delivered in Parliament and by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, with the hearty adhesion of Convocation and of the National Society, that we need do no more now than refer to them.

In some parts of England the plan sketched out has already been inaugurated with considerable and most promising success. In one large Church of England school a committee of twelve parents has been formed, and an altogether new educational enthusiasm has sprung up to the great satisfaction of the clergyman and of all concerned. But we learn from the Church school papers that their movement spreads slowly.

Among Catholics, so far as we have learnt, the first efforts have been all that could have been hoped for. That there should be a considerable amount of indifference among parents, especially among the parents of the poor, is what had to be expected. It is simply a question of educating our people *to take an interest in matters which are of a higher order than*

the supply of their own material wants. And this, no doubt, is a task that we must resolutely undertake, or we shall at last find ourselves isolated and handed over in everything that concerns "Public Administration" to those more keenly interested and more intelligent members of the population, who have no sympathy whatever with Catholic education. That local control, or local administration, is going to be the order of the day, whenever "public money" has to be expended is, humanly speaking, almost as certain as death and taxes. So far as the experience of three months is concerned, we are assured, by those who have knowledge, that there is every reason to be thoroughly satisfied with the way in which the scheme explained in our last number has been working in Catholic missions. The priests have thrown themselves into the policy, the people have expressed satisfaction in a solution which takes them into confidence, and there can be no reasonable doubt but that a strong and popular system of management is in course of formation. That there should be a supreme Diocesan Board, having power to decide disputes and local questions is of the essence of the scheme. Upon this we need not insist upon the present occasion.

What we now desire is, to place before our readers another aspect of the policy for local control by parents instead of by ratepayers which is well worth their careful consideration. We have almost a consensus among the leaders of the Church of England and among politicians well disposed to the Voluntary system that unless the Voluntary schools establish "local parental control," the State will step in and establish "local ratepayers control." Now, suppose the Church of England, instead of rising to the invitation of its leaders, miserably fails to make the necessary exertion upon any broad national basis, and hangs on as long as it can to the one-man-management system where shall we be when the crisis comes? This is an extremely pertinent and important question. There is a common feeling that the educational interests of the Catholic Church and of the Church of England are closely linked together—that we must share alike, and stand or fall together. The Church people frequently remind us of this, not without a touch of patronage and of half-concealed superiority. We do not altogether share this view of the matter. Let us say  
*[No. 1 of Fourth Series.]*

frankly that the alliance is a very doubtful one. We know what our principles are, we know what we want, we know what we condemn, we know where we stand. Can the same be said of the Church of England? A temporary alliance with the Church in the matter of elementary education may suit both parties, as long as both are thoroughly sound and trustworthy. But can we implicitly trust the Church party in this matter of education? We say, No, and for the following reasons:—

1. A State Church must eventually go with the State. It has no independence of its own. Sections may stand out but the body of bishops, ministers and officials will and must conform to the State policy, whenever that is sufficiently defined.

2. Is the Church of England very much in earnest in its opposition to School Boards? It has shown a policy of timidity, if not of acquiescence, from the beginning. It pleads for its own life, but its life is now to be found in the Board Schools. More than half the children in Board Schools belong to the Church of England. Of the 20,000 certificated teachers in Board Schools, over half, some say very much over half, belong to the Church of England. Excellent and edifying Churchmen have assured us that they prefer Board Schools to Church Schools, because religion (*i.e.* the Bible) is taught better in the former than in the latter. The Parson hesitates very little indeed about giving over his school to the Board, especially if he feels the shoe pinch. An increasingly large number of Church of England Schools have already gone over to the Boards. A Church of England Guild urges the surrender of all Church Schools to the Boards as a matter of faith and piety, and, we must add, as a matter of comfort for needy clergymen. The *Weekly Churchman* openly commends the same policy. The Anglican Bishops have no power to hinder the surrender of a Church of England School. This depends on the rector or the trustees. It appears, then, that the Church of England is growing up in the Board Schools. Whatever may be the objection raised against them by the supporters of Church Schools, that objection, we very much

Year, is political, sectional, limited, and declining in point of volume and of force.

3. While the Church of England is, in alliance with us in opposing the Board School system, it is insensibly but really betraying us by its close and real connection with the enemy. The time will come when the Church of England may say, "Why object any longer to Board Schools? We fill them with our own. We are in a majority within their walls. Let the old system die gently and honourably, but let the new grow ever stronger, and let it become instinct with our life and spirit. There is but one party that will be undone, but one that will be crushed, the Church of Rome, "the Italian Mission," but this also serves our turn."

4. The political objection urged by Churchmen against Board Schools is perhaps their strongest. The Church School is a decided vantage ground of power to the Church; but time and circumstances modify and obliterate political objections, and the Church School, as an essential part of the Church system may be found unnecessary when it can no longer be retained with sufficient ease. As to the religious objection all we need say is that the religious objection of Catholics and that of Protestants to Board School Education are so different in kind and degree that they cannot, except for political convenience, be placed together on the same platform. Religious objections of the Church of England? Is not its modern, its boasted, note one of comprehension? A religion that comprehends every tenet from the Gorham to the Lincoln decisions will not be squeamish in adopting the kind of religious instruction that may be in accordance with the views of the majority of the ratepayers, who may also be members of the Church of England. Depend upon it, that the Anglican Establishment will accommodate itself like a rich state pillow to whatever pressure the State may put upon it, and will declare that adaptability with comprehensiveness is a distinguishing note of the true Church.

Finally, while such are the silent omens of the future, we must admit that we see no very hopeful sign of a determined



movement among the Anglican clergy. Many of their bishops see into the future clearly enough, and have wisely given words of warning. But they are in despair with the languor of the incumbents. They do not possess that authority which Catholic bishops have over their priests. The magnificent loyalty and obedience of the Catholic clergy to their bishops is unknown outside the Catholic Church. The Anglican clergy are also constitutionally slow to move. There are many reasons why their schools will be found just as they are, when the whirlwind comes. They don't like change, many are wedded to a mild parochial despotism, and don't care to place their schools on a broader basis; oftentimes their trust-deeds will not allow them to make any modification in their boards of management. Then there are a multitude of bonds and influences of a domestic kind, in which the comfort, happiness, and future of wife, sons, and daughters play insensibly a large part. May not all these things be reasons for leaving the schools just where they are, or for making peace with the Board School system on the best terms obtainable, whenever the crisis comes? "What reason," they may say, "for alarm or action?" The National Church conforms to the national mind and feeling." Such then may be our ally. Let us be on our guard.

One other point ought to be borne in mind, as to the heartiness of the alliance between the Church party and ourselves on this education question. The Bishop of Manchester has publicly declared — and others have spoken in the same sense — that come what may Catholics shall never obtain better terms than Churchmen in the matter of elementary education. One thing they will never tolerate is, that the Catholics of England shall ever receive exceptional treatment. They say, in other words, if the ship is to founder and sink, we, the majority, will take precious good care that no one shall escape. If a rope or a plank be thrown to any of our friends, it shall be struck out of their hands. If the majority have to perish in the waters, the majority declare that it will secure to itself this satisfaction, that the minority shall perish also that not one shall escape. We say nothing of the Christianity of this view of the case — perhaps we have no right to expect Christianity in any such conjuncture, but we say that the allies, who can

deal us to such warnings, are but feebly indeed attached to the principle of Christian education.

And now to come to our main point. The religious and educational claim of Catholics in England stands absolutely alone as a matter of conscience. Protestants of all sorts accept Board School education. Catholics cannot conscientiously do so. Mr. Morley and Mr. Mundella have seen this, and they have named Catholics and Jews together as two exceptional classes whom the State is bound to consider. In the matter of education the Catholics of England cannot be treated differently to the Catholics of Ireland, without gross disregard to the rights of conscience. Now it is abundantly possible that we may find ourselves deserted by the Church of England and that we may have to fight our battle ~~alone~~. Let us be prepared for the eventuality. And let us prepare by conforming to the spirit of the age, so far as we conscientiously can. If, when the time comes for settling this "local control" question, we can say "We have met you half way we have established local control by parents whose children frequent our schools, we have abandoned the one-man-manager system, everything is public and aboveboard, we do us to ourselves, treat us exceptionally, we conscientiously reject the religious direction provided by ratepayers, we cannot accept their schools for our children," we shall have placed ourselves in a strong position. And if, for the reasons given above the Church of England has not met the British public half way, but has hung back, our claim for exceptional treatment will be further strengthened by having *created for ourselves* an exceptional position. The Catholics of England are a small body, but they are united, generous, and self-sacrificing. Nothing is needed by our clergy and laity but the organisation of a strong School policy, which will weld priest and people together, and will command the respect of the whole country. We ought to establish local control of the kind spoken of. If we have this, we need have no fear of demanding our fair share in the rates. For there would be no objection to adding to a strong Catholic Board of Management any representative of the ratepayers, whose business should be strictly limited to see to the expenditure of the money rate. But unless

we organise ourselves betimes we may become like a ship without a rudder, at the mercy of the waves of popular opinion, when the school question comes on for settlement.

## II.

Non-Catholics are often puzzled by the importance which Catholics attach to having a Catholic school, and cannot see why we should not, like all sorts of Englishmen, be satisfied with well-managed Board Schools. It is vital to our interests in the future that the non-Catholic public should learn what we mean by Catholic Education. They imagine that it consists in learning catechism and saying certain prayers; whereas it is something far more than this. Catholic Education means the regular training of the will and the heart, upon the motives and principles set forth by the Catholic religion. It means teaching the young to love, to give their affections to, Divine Persons, whose presence is to be brought frequently before their mind. The Catechism is a mere collection of axioms or propositions covering a science. It is the working them out, the applying them in detail, which constitutes the chief part of Catholic Education. The mind and character having to be formed upon the motives of religion, the whole life and conduct of Catholic youth must be moulded by, coloured and seasoned with, Catholic principles.

This is no easy task. It cannot be accomplished during an hour's teaching in a Sunday School. The wayward will and heart, the unformed character, must be the special solicitude of teachers day by day, during the years given to education. If the mind and memory need constant attention during five days in the week for eight or nine years, in order to acquire a modicum of secular knowledge, it is not surprising that the will, the heart, and the character should also require constant care and attention. In a Catholic school the indirect teaching and training are quite as important as the direct. Pictures, crucifixes and religious emblems, little devotional practices that occupy only a few seconds, as for instance when the clock strikes, all help to create the formative influences to which we attach so much importance. Then, again, the motives placed before children when they are corrected, aye, and the motives constantly placed before them for the performance of their



most ordinary duties, belong to Catholic Education. Hence the need of teachers trained in a Catholic spirit, as well as in the knowledge of their religion, hence the need of a Catholic atmosphere in our schools, hence, again, that strongly marked character peculiar to a Catholic school, which will always render a Catholic school unsuitable for children who are to be brought up as rank Protestants.

While the spirit of the world, and the whole weight of Government influence has been cast into the scale of secular instruction, its awards, its payments and distinctions being reserved solely to proficiency in secular learning, the Bishops, as watchful guardians over the eternal welfare of their flock, have done everything in their power to promote the higher interests of Catholic education. Years ago they established four Training Colleges, which they placed under the direction of ecclesiastical or religious men and women, so that Masters and Mistresses might come forth from them, permeated with the spirit of Catholic teachers, and as well qualified as any in England to teach the three R's. Within the last year a system of diocesan religious Inspection was strongly urged by the Catholic School Committee, and it has been adopted with great benefit to all. It has been followed up by examinations in religion and various kinds of encouragement to attend to the all important religious side of education.

In this great formative work of religious Education, which is the only *raison d'être* of distinctively Catholic schools, the Masters and Mistresses have rendered noble service. They also, like all the members of a purely missionary church, have been and are exposed to dangers and temptations. And they have won universal admiration by the manner in which they have loyally stood together. Outside of the Catholic Church there is a great body of over 60,000 Teachers whose standard of a teachers duties is different to ours. No Teacher could accept their standard and be in reality a Catholic Teacher, whatever he might be in name or in private life. But though worldly inducements have not been wanting to Catholic Teachers to make common cause with the Protestant Teachers of England, they have, as a body, withstood every temptation, and have contented themselves with forming an Association of their own, which shall be



Catholic in name, in aim, and in spirit. This is as it should be. While the Catholics of England are massing and drilling, like a little army that may have to fight for the legitimate rights of parents to educate their children in their own religion, it is highly important that the body of Catholic Teachers should be publicly seen to be marshalled under the same banner, and to be entirely cut off, by an act of their own, from all who are working on different religious principles.

It is interesting to observe how the Bishops are continuously and gradually developing the policy which underlay the establishment of distinctively Catholic Training Colleges. It could not be otherwise. As materialism and secularism advance and attack the camp of Christian education, so must the generals fortify the citadel, and bind its champions more closely together in the service of their Divine Master.

The Bishops seem to have had nothing more at heart than to raise the social status of the Teachers, to associate them in their character of Catholic Instructors of youth more closely than ever with the clergy, and to provide for their material and temporal comfort. This is a work not to be accomplished in a day; to be solid and permanent it must be the result of a steady and healthy growth. The evidence of their lordships' policy is to be seen in the series of their acts.

Three years ago in their Low Week Meeting the following resolutions were passed:—

1. The Bishops resolved to renew the Resolution which was agreed to in the Low Week Meeting of 1866, in respect to the removal of Teachers, which was as follows:

“That, in order to encourage Teachers of Elementary Schools by adding further stability to their position, no Manager shall give notice of dismissal to any Head Teacher, whether male or female, without having conformed to certain precautionary measures, which shall be prescribed by the Bishop of the Diocese, to guard against the danger of arbitrary dismissal. The following may be found useful as suggestions: namely, that no Manager shall dismiss a Teacher (except for gross or notorious misconduct, or for repeated bad reports from the Diocesan or Government Inspectors and serious failures at examinations), without having had the grounds for such dismissal before two impartial persons, such, for instance, as the Vicar-General and the Rural Dean, or the Assistant Managers of the School, or other person approved by the Bishop, and shall not dismiss the Teacher in opposition to the united judgment of the same.”

2. The Bishops agreed to form some scheme for retiring pensions.
3. They also agreed to recognise publicly the religious character of the office of School Teacher.

In pursuance of the above, in their Low Week Meeting of last year they determined to place before the Teachers in the larger Dioceses the form of a Religious Guild, which, subject to any necessary modifications and improvements, should give to Catholic Teachers a canonical constitution and place them in a recognised rank of honour and privilege. Of course, Membership in such a Guild must be entirely voluntary, for were it compulsory, it would be shorn of grace and honour. Nor would it preclude Membership in any other Catholic Association. The following are the rules and principles of the proposed Guild, which is now under the consideration of the National Union of Catholic Teachers of Great Britain.

#### RULES AND PRINCIPLES.

1. The Guild is open to all Catholics of either sex engaged in teaching in Catholic schools.

2. To become a member nothing more is necessary than acceptance of the principles and rules of the Guild and enrolment by an authorised person.

3. The Guild is based upon the fundamental principle that the office of teacher of Catholic youth is a religious office closely uniting those who discharge its obligations with Our Blessed Saviour, and with the pastors whom He has sent to convert and teach the world. From this it follows that the profession of a Catholic teacher deserves a higher kind of reverence and honour than that which is given to any purely secular profession or occupation.

4. Fully recognising the sacred character of their profession the members of the Guild will endeavour to bear constantly in mind how precious in the eyes of God are the souls of the children committed to their care for education. They will treat them with great reverence as the children of God, and will train and mould their lives and conduct upon the principle and motives of Faith.

5. They will endeavour to place instruction in religion upon a higher level than ordinary school work, and will aim especially at attaching the minds and hearts of the children to the Sacred Person of our Divine Lord and to the Church which He founded in His own most precious Blood.

6. The members of the Guild will readily recognise that this high office is subordinate to that of the clergy, whose co-helpers they are, and that they are, therefore, bound to second and obey the directions of the priest in all matters connected with the training of the little lambs of His flock in the knowledge and practice of religion.

7. The Guild shall have a President, Vice-Presidents, Executive Committee, and Secretaries elected by the members every three years.

8. In each Diocese in which the Guild is established, the Bishop will nominate a chaplain to watch over the interests of the members of the Guild within the Diocese. He will be an *ex-officio* member of the Guild.

9. An Annual Meeting shall be held in one or more convenient centres for conference on matters connected with education and with the other interests of the Guild.

From this it will be seen that the intention is to give to the members of the Guild Diocesan Chaplains, who shall be thoroughly in sympathy with the Teachers, and who shall represent their interests and defend their cause, if need be, before the Bishop of the Diocese. The general principles being accepted, the Guild will be self-governing and independent, under the patronage of the Bishops.

It was proposed to attach three kinds of privileges to the Guild; Indulgences, a *Missio Canonica*, and a Pension Fund. As to the first nothing need be said. The *Missio Canonica* is an official Diploma given by the Ordinary, testifying that the bearer is recognised by the Church as a Teacher of the Catholic religion, under the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical authority. It will be to the Teacher, wherever he goes, a Diploma of honour, which he will value as the priest values the Diploma which sets forth his ecclesiastical faculties. It will be an enrolment in an Order of religious service, springing, like the mediæval Guilds and Associations, out of the needs of the day, and will be respected throughout the Catholic Church. The Pension Fund has been already anticipated by the Bishops, and that in a more generous manner than was contemplated by the Guild, because no contribution towards it is to be asked of the Teachers.

What strikes us in the Guild, and in the action of the Bishops, is the solicitude of the hierarchy not only to raise the status of the Teachers and to place them in honour, but to provide for their temporal necessities. The Bishops, as true Fathers, seem to be thoroughly alive to the requirements as well as to the difficulties of Catholic Education, in the midst of such an atmosphere and of such a population as that of England. By their latest act, anticipating a privilege contemplated for the Guild, they have determined at once to create a retiring pen-

sion for the Teachers. This is a recognition of the need of a financial improvement, which will no doubt extend in other directions. The question of salaries has still to be considered, but, where poverty reigns in the place of wealth, it becomes exceedingly complicated. We cannot, however, help noting with a smile, that the National Union of Catholic Teachers has set up, as the publicly recognised standard of payment for Teachers, the salaries paid by School Boards. Now, everyone knows that the School Board salaries have been fixed as bribes to attract the best teachers. The School Boards have had to compete with the Voluntary Schools, and they have bid high for success; they have easily outbid the managers who depend on voluntary contributions. Their public credit has greatly depended on their power of attracting away from the Voluntary Schools the best teachers that come out of the Denominational Training Colleges. The extravagance of many School Boards in the matter of salaries has been on a par with their extravagance in other spending departments. But the whole of this question needs a much fuller treatment than can be given to it at the end of an article, which has dealt chiefly with a policy for saving our schools and Catholic teaching.

EDITORIAL.





## Science Notices.

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**Jupiter and his Satellites.**—The first satellite of Jupiter has of late unexpectedly, and we are now almost sure, undeservedly, fallen under a suspicion of "duplicity." Observing it in transit across the disc of its primary on September 8th, 1890, at the Lick Observatory, Professor Barnard perceived it to be distinctly double; and Mr. Burnham, called in as an expert for consultation on the strange appearance, averred that no pair of stars within his wide acquaintance showed a clearer line of separation. If these be in actual fact a corresponding reality, the Jovian system includes a sub-system of very singular organization. For it must be composed of two bodies, each about one thousand miles in diameter, mutually revolving in a period of a few days at a distance apart, estimated from centre to centre, of probably little more than two thousand miles. Moreover, the plane of their orbit must be nearly perpendicular to that of Jupiter's motion round the sun, as well as to the practically coincident one of their motion round Jupiter. This is in itself an unlikely circumstance; and the entire arrangement resulting from the supposition of a double satellite has no known precedent, and could only be admitted as substantially existing on irrefragable evidence. Such evidence is not, however, at present forthcoming.

During the remarkable transit in question, the satellite was, by its comparative obscurity, thrown into relief upon the more lustrous planetary background. But on August 3rd, 1891, owing to the line of projection being upon the dusky southern equatorial belt, the same body was seen by Professor Barnard, throughout its passage, as a bright object. No duplication, accordingly, was this time observed, but instead, very marked elongation. The moving body appeared oval, its longer axis pointing in the direction of its progress. Yet these at first sight inconsistent appearances find reconciliation in an explanation proposed by Professor Barnard himself. For if the satellite be cut in two, as it were, by a brilliant equatorial belt, the obscure polar segments will show, during *dark* transits, as separate but juxtaposed objects, the belt between vanishing in the planetary radiance; while, during *bright* transits, like that of last August, the belt alone will be visible in the form of a luminous ellipse, the less

reflective parts on either side of merging into Jupiter's horizontally extended shadings. This hypothesis is for the present, generally acquiesced in by astronomers, and seems to account satisfactorily for the different aspects of the transiting body. It implies, however, a closer analogy of constitution than might have been expected between planet and satellite; since the similar and almost parallel markings of each must probably owe their origin to a similar set of conditions. Among these are likely to be found the piling-up of cloud forms in a profound vapourous atmosphere, and a rapid axial rotation. Nevertheless, the view that the visible disc of Jupiter is, in any sense, of atmospheric production, is rejected by Professor Barnard, who holds it, on the contrary, to be a true planetary surface, though in a plastic or pasty condition, the belts and markings being merely discolourations in this due to internal eruptions.

The question can, just at present, be studied to more than usual advantage.

Jupiter's surface has of late exhibited rapid and conspicuous changes, indexes, no doubt, to internal commotions of especial vehemence. These outbreaks, in the northern hemisphere, have chiefly taken the form of small, sharply-defined, round black spots, often connected with odd looking "horse-tail" streaks emanating from the adjacent dusky belt; and they seem like a reproduction of a similar group occupying precisely the same position in the year 1880. In the southern hemisphere, on the other hand, the new spots observed have been in general either white or red. The famous "great red spot," which has now been carefully watched during upwards of thirteen years, has not only regained much of its pristine brilliancy, but acquired a companion, distinguished as the "long red spot." Should this appendage prove to be of lasting quality, the determination of its relations with the original formation will be of great interest. One of the peculiarities of the latter is that other markings are never seen to encroach upon it. They appear rather to make room for it, and get out of its way. As Professor Barnard notices, it exercises at least the semblance of a regulative power over any streaks, belts, or spots that come into its vicinity. All of these—and this is a highly significant fact—rotate more quickly than the red spot. They drift past it accordingly, borne onwards, perhaps, by atmospheric currents; for none of them can be supposed stationary as regards the actual surface of the planet. The great spot itself is certainly *not* rooted in Jovian soil, or anchored in whatever Nerbonian bog of semi-condensed material may represent the Jovian substance. If it were, its time of rotation should be absolutely

fixed, which is not. Unless, indeed, the body of the planet be molten, and the spot carried to and fro by lava-currents in a lava-ocean. But, in that case, the permanence and definiteness of its form would be unaccountable. The great red spot thus remains an enigma. The hypothesis, however, of a periodicity in the display of markings on Jupiter corresponding to the periodicity of sun spots has of late received a good deal of confirmation. For the present simultaneous revival, both in the sun and in the greatest of his dependants, of symptoms of interior agitation, can scarcely be fortuitous.

**The Zodiacal Light.**—Dr. M. A. Veeder, of Lyons, N.Y., has recently advanced a theory of the Zodiacal Light differing in several respects from the views hitherto held as to its nature. That the faint luminous cone extending along the ecliptic “is a solar appendage, but not a part of the sun’s atmosphere,” is indeed so obviously true that one can hardly understand its being disputed; and a very short further step leads to the inference that “the Zodiacal Light is an extension of the Solar Corona.” From this point, then, the American physicist’s originality may be said to begin. He supposes a two-fold zodiacal extension corresponding to the bifurcated aspect of the corona during total eclipses at times of maximum sunspots, and to the distribution of these last in two zones of the sun’s surface north and south of the Solar Equator. The matter composing the “Light” accordingly spreads outward—if this hypothesis be correct—in two wide sheets from the spot-zones; and some slight annual alterations in its position and outlines are plausibly explained as due to varying effects of perspective depending upon the earth’s changes of situation relative to the two planes of effusion. When, however, sunspots are reduced to a minimum, the bifurcated masses of the corona merge into a single great equatorial wing, and a similar modification of form might be expected to manifest itself in the zodiacal light, if it be truly supplied from the store-house of coronal material. This test of Dr. Veeder’s theory has yet to be applied. It ought to prove decisive.

The enigmatical radiance, which is sometimes seen, even in these latitudes, to shoot up from the west towards the zenith on fine March evenings, a couple of hours after sunset, consists mainly, as the spectroscope shows, of reflected solar rays. That the reflecting material is of a meteoric nature has often been supposed, but has not yet been proved. It is then somewhat hazardous to assume—as our present author does—that all the separate little bodies constituting the supposed swarm are “siderites,” that is to say, meteorites of ferruginous composition; and serve altogether as the transmitting medium by which electrical impulses originating in the



sun, are conveyed to the earth. The zodiacal light might, if this were so, be called the nervous system of the solar and planetary organism. It would be the bearer of influences which, for aught that we can tell, may be indispensable for the maintenance of life upon our globe. Thus, the phenomena of terrestrial magnetism with their accompanying auroral displays, are brought into immediate relations to it, their predominant occurrence in spring and autumn being ingeniously associated with the passage of the earth, first through one, then, at an interval of six months, through the other of the two conducting discs composing, we are asked to believe, this mysterious solar appendage. Dr. Veeder further alleges evidence of auroral periodicity in  $27\frac{1}{4}$  days, the time of the sun's synodical rotation, as it is called, or its rotation as regards the moving earth, and this implies the localisation on the sun's surface of each temporary seat of magnetic disturbance. Such effects are, indeed, often distinctly traceable to limited solar areas, marked out by the presence of groups of active spots, or more rarely, by the occurrence of some luminous outbreak. And the maximum power of these agitated regions appears to be exerted at their emergence on the eastern limb, when they are in course of rotational approach to the earth. The whole subject has a most important bearing on the physics of the solar system, and Dr. Veeder has at least succeeded in providing a working hypothesis which will certainly prove helpful as a means of co-ordinating observed facts.

**The Capture Theory of Comets**—The theory of comet-capture is once more in the ascendant. It has long been notorious that each of the great planets—and Jupiter more especially—owns some cometary clients, bodies whose excursions into outer space are approximately limited by the sphere of the planetary orbit; and the inference was irresistible that planetary attraction had been the efficient cause of the conversion of their nearly parabolic paths into moderately elongated ellipses. But when the problem of determining exactly how this could have happened came to be worked out in detail, certain difficulties arose, and doubts overclouded for a time the cheerful certainty of imperfect knowledge. For a time only M. Callandreau's learned discussion has come to the rescue, showing quite clearly the mechanical possibility of the captures in question. Thus, of twenty "short-period" comets, all, with one exception, may very well have become what they are through having once, or several times, fallen under Jupiter's influence in such a manner as to have their velocity reduced from the parabolic to the elliptical measure. The one body recalcitrant to this



explanation is Encke's comet, quickest in its revolutions of all known members of its class. Its permanence in the solar system remains, then, strictly speaking, unaccounted for ; but Mr. Plummer's surmise that Mercury was concerned with it in the same manner that Jupiter was with so many analogous introductions receives a good deal of support from the circumstances of the case. In others, where the inferior planets were certainly not concerned as primary agents in the captures effected, they have probably played a secondary part by modifying cometary orbits through the perturbing effects of their attraction, now accelerating, now retarding motion, at one moment ratifying the arrest imposed by Jupiter, at another aiding a new-made prisoner to escape.

An important result of M. Callandreaux's investigation accordingly is to discountenance the idea of any original distinction between the various classes of comets. Their present diversity—so far as status is concerned—results essentially from the vicissitudes to which they have been individually exposed. All alike were, to start with, strangers to the organisation of our system. They entered it casually, and by way of adventure. Those that have become its denizens are relatively few—a mere insignificant fraction of the multitudes that have flitted in and away without pause, hindrance, or return.

**Forest Fires at Mount Hamilton.**—On the night of July 20th last, two men camping out in the neighbourhood of the Lick Observatory accidentally set the brushwood in a blaze. In a Californian summer a seed of fire once planted germinates rapidly, and within twenty hours the flames had entered the domain or "reservation" of that establishment. The danger was at once seen to be formidable, but counteracting efforts were sadly hampered by scarcity of labour, and the battle which had, under dire penalties to be fought and won, devolved largely upon the astronomers themselves. The first measure was to cut a "trail" six feet broad through the brushwood in front of the advancing flames, and this it was necessary to defend like a rampart held by a scanty but vigilant garrison against swarming assailants. These severe exertions were temporarily successful. After three days and nights of almost incessant toil the enemy retreated, and was thought to be overcome. The hope, however, was prematurely entertained. The flames smouldered for a while, then tried another approach to the Cañon Negro—a ravine separating the rocky peak upon which the Observatory stands from the adjacent heights. A fresh alarm was accordingly raised, further assistance was sent for, long trail

were run along the hillsides, "back fires" set going in order to produce, if possible, a diversion of the menacing line of march; and at last the desired end was attained of effectually isolating the conflagration. "The experience," Professor Holden says, "has been a novel one to all of us. Some idea of the force of the fire may be had by recalling the fact that all the chapparal (brushwood) on a steep hillside was completely burned up in twelve minutes, the area burned over being at least 240,000 square feet. At one time the astronomers were obliged to defend a crest something like half a mile long, and to prevent the flames from crossing it while the fire was burning fiercely along the whole long line. The flames rose thirty, forty, or even fifty feet in the air, making a terrific heat which had to be faced. If the fire is not stopped on the farther side of such a crest, but is allowed to cross the ridge, the hither slope is sure to be fired by the pine cones which, once lighted, cannot be put out, and which roll down the hither slope igniting everything they touch. Every leaf and tree is like tinder in the midst of our long summer, and burns freely. No water was available for extinguishing this fire, and dirt had to be shovelled on the flames instead. The water in the reservoirs is necessary to our daily life, and moreover it had to be carefully saved in case of possible danger to the Observatory itself." This may serve as a specimen of the adventures and out-of-the-way experiences often included in a career of stargazing. The ends of the earth and the summits of mountains are not reached and occupied without passing through many and diverse accidental vicissitudes.

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## Notes on Social Science.

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**Four Schools of Political Economy.**—Ten years ago economic studies in England were in a very languishing state, the old political economy discredited, and justly so, and nothing new put in its place.

But now, if it is not profane to transfer to the lofty regions of science the phraseology of the market-place, there is a boom in economics. It started, as far as works written in English are concerned, in America, which, having fallen under the intellectual supremacy of Germany, began to be taught in earnest the doctrines

of the historical school which predominated in the political and economic science of the Germans. And the fruit was a revived interest in economic subjects, many books and articles, and notably two great quarterlies started about six years ago—the “Quarterly Journal of Economics,” published at Boston, and the “Political Science Quarterly,” published at New York.

The latter has frequently been noticed in this REVIEW, and the two numbers before us now, for December and March last, show no falling off in interest and ability. The article by M. Charles Gide, on Political Economy in France, gives an admirable summary of the decay and recent revival of the science in his own country. The decay is promoted and the revival resisted by the vast power and ruthless boycotting exercised by the *Institut de France*, that great literary octopus little understood by happy foreigners not enfolded in its limbs. Its action and the present state of economics in France is set forth by M. Gide in English, not merely good, but better than nine-tenths of the English written by Englishmen; and although himself alien to the Catholic school, he neither ignores nor reviles it.

France, in fact, has now joined the economic movement and shows, like Germany, and like ourselves, the four chief schools striving for supremacy over students and statute-books. First, there is the *old school*, so-called classical orthodox, dealing with economic men not real men, and in France desperately optimistic (if the “bull” be permitted), and very old-fashioned and fusty, and by no means decked out with the fine new clothes with which in England Professors Sedgwick and Marshall, and in Austria a body of writers known as the Austrian school, are trying to make the ugly old body of orthodox political economy look pretty. In France, the “*Journal des Economistes*” is the organ of this school. Then there is the *Socialist School*, the national fruit of the classical school, and which have for their organ the “*Revue Socialiste*.” Thirdly, comes the *historical school*, already ancient in Germany, but not long existing as a school amongst ourselves and quite new in France, where the “*Revue d'Economie Politique*,” their organ, was started only in 1887. Last, but not least, comes the *Christian or Ethical School*, in France somewhat divided according as they tend to assign a larger sphere to State action with Comte de Mun and the *Association Catholique*, or a lesser sphere with M. Claudio Jannet and the *Réforme Sociale*. But these divergences can hardly long survive the great Encyclical on the labour question; and the ethical school will appear in France as in Germany, England, and America, the only one that will stand the test of sound philosophy and true history,



and the only one, therefore, that can give a really scientific answer to the socialist school.

In England, the year 1890 witnessed the formation of the British Economic Association, and in March, 1891, appeared the first number of its journal, styled the "Economic Journal," and which being, like the Association itself, open to all schools and parties, is likely to be of great value to those who know how to select and appraise the different articles. But for all students who are not "old hands," and for the general public it seems dubious whether they will not gain more bewilderment than profit from the simple juxtaposition without note or comment of contradictory statements and of doctrines based on contradictory first principles. And the hope of uniting all economists, as the editor puts it, in "a brotherly search for truth," appears, in view of the history and present state of economic science, more pathetic than reasonable. Indeed, the weak point, both of the Association and its journal, is the want of appreciation of the gravity of the issues in dispute, and the impossibility of compromise when first principles are in opposition. For, however much certain economists may disclaim it, their science is part of ethics, their conclusions are dependent on their ethical premises. It is better to be open about this, and not make any pretence of an "independent" or "impartial" study which is impossible.

The moral of this rule is that, while we should give our respect and attention to the new "Economic Journal," we should reserve a warmer welcome to another new magazine on economic science, also started this year, under the title of the "Economic Review," and published for the Oxford University Branch of the Christian Social Union. It is written openly and avowedly for Christians. No doubt the Christianity seems to us somewhat weak kneed and confused. But considering the state of economic science and social activity among Catholics, it is certainly not for us to throw stones; and considering the antecedents and surroundings of those who have set this "Economic Review" on its course, their courage and dauntlessness deserve our warmest sympathy.

They represent, as the editorial programme sets forth, those who "are seeking for principles to guide them through the tangled mazes of social and industrial life." Let us set before them, as the happy revival of Catholic philosophy ought to enable us to do, that Christian ethics are the very principles they seek, and that the history of the Christian Church has shown again and again the particular application of these principles, notably in regard to fair dealing, to almsgiving, and to the stringent relations of family life.



Let us put in their hands the Encyclical on the Condition of Labour (though for that matter I strongly suspect the Encyclical has more serious students, and no less respectful, among them than among ourselves). Let us explain to them that they are too modest in thinking they occupy only a part of the economic field, when in truth they cover the whole, and there is no part of economics that can be divorced from ethics ; and that thus they belong to one school indeed of economic science, but the true school, namely, the ethical, which, in substance, is right, though its followers may fall into many accidental errors ; whereas, the socialist, the classical, and the historical schools are in substance wrong.

Of particular articles in the "Economic Review," that in the January number, by the Rev. M. Kaufmann, on the Progress of Socialism in the United States, and that in the April number by the Hon and Rev. Arthur Lyttelton, on the question of Population, may be singled out as of particular merit ; while much information is given in the Notes and Memoranda, for example, on labour-colonies and profit-sharing.

Reverting to the "Political Science Quarterly" of New York, the March number contains as clear an account of compulsory insurance in Germany as the bewildering complexity of the subject allows ; and the mischief and inefficacy of the recent Aged and Invalid Pension Law is made evident. There is also a review of Professor Marshall's "Principles of Economics," interesting, not as a real critical estimate of the book, which I have as yet met with nowhere but as a sad sign how the weaker part of that book, with its nebulous terms, needless hypotheses, and fruitless discussions, is too likely, so great is the charm of subtle speculation for many minds, to find many imitators.

C. S. DEVAS.

**Canon Holland on the Encyclical on Labour.** -The year 1891 has been a marked year in the history of economic science : the Encyclical on the condition of the working classes has directed the attention of all Catholics to the subject, and has made the task of Catholic economists much simpler, by giving the general principles of common agreement and common action ; while the rush to economics in England has shown itself not merely in a multitude of books and pamphlets, but in the foundation of two new quarterlies entirely devoted to economic questions. Out of these, "The Economic Journal" is supposed to represent all opinions of any scientific value, and is the official organ of the British Economic Association ; the other, with which alone we are now concerned, is "The Economic Review," and is avowedly Christian. It is published

for the Oxford University Branch of the Christian Social Union, and, according to its programme, "is written for those who are trying to see more clearly, apart from political or class prejudices, their duties as citizens and as Christians." Indeed, of the articles that have appeared in the first four numbers of this quarterly, nearly half have been written by clergymen.

This being the character of the "Economic Review," we turned with natural interest to an article in the October number by the Rev Canon H. S. Holland on the "Encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XIII. on the Condition of Labour." For surely all Christians who are trying to see more clearly their duties on social matters, will find much to help them in the clear and comprehensive teaching of the Encyclical. But Canon Holland has disappointed us. He is indeed very courteous in his comments; he praises the noble life of Leo XIII., and the "many kind and wise things he says." But then he gives us plainly to understand that the Pope's teaching, though very well-meaning, is of very little use; "that we have not gained any clear step; that we are not further forward on our way; that our real problems have only been skirted, not assailed; that after all that the old man, in his goodness, has said we must go back and work out the weary heart of the problem for ourselves."

Now this extraordinary view of a document that in reality goes to very root of the evils that are troubling us, is no doubt partly due to a hasty reading of it, and unfamiliarity with the significance of the terms used. So Canon Holland misrepresents, quite unconsciously but very completely, the Pope's teaching, when he says that there is no attempt "to determine the limitation of ownership, and the nature of its relations to the common weal;" and that "the inviolability of private property . . . is, according to the Pope, the primary office of the State;" and when he complains "how far aloof the Papal letter stands from the actual dust and heat of the turmoil in which the social world is engaged." For much of the Encyclical is occupied with determining very explicitly the limitations of ownership and the checks on its abuse, the duty of the Government to protect all rights, not merely rights of ownership, is explicitly declared; nay the "inviolability of private property" in the ordinary sense of the phrase, namely to allow every man to do what he likes with his own, is in flat contradiction with the Pope's teaching which moreover, far from being aloof from the turmoil, or having (to quote Canon Holland once more) "a far away, old-fashioned dreamy tone," is in the very thick of the turmoil, amid factory laws, sphere of women's work, insurance of workpeople,

minimum wages, variations of the working day according to trade, and the binding together once more of employers and workpeople, instead of civil war between hostile and separate federations.

But unhappily Canon Holland's dissatisfaction is not simply due to a misunderstanding. The Traditional Christian Teaching on the Family, The State and the Church, on domestic, civil, and religious society, set forth anew so clearly in previous Encyclicals of Leo XIII. (*Arcanum divinum*, on Christian marriage, and *Immortale Dei*, on the Christian constitution of States): all this is quite out of date with him, is "patriarchal," "futile," "childish." Much rather we are to understand that "the State must work from within the people whom it governs, not from without." It is itself their organ of discovery, the expression and embodiment of their growing experience. It is the instrument by which they feel their way forward, by which they continually adapt and re-adapt themselves to the changing environment. They and it are one living thing; they constitute a single being. The "Government" is the organized ministry through which each national State works out its progressive destiny. This all-pervading all-embracing State. This Hegelian monster, is Canon Holland's ideal, having as an inevitable consequence the trampling down of the rights of the family and the Church, and the profanation of our hearths and our altars. No doubt we can throw a little Christian colour into this political doctrine by putting in "under God" here and there, or "by the moving pressure of the Divine Will," but this does not alter the practical effects of the teaching, which are the same as though we said straight out with Hegel that the State is the Divine Will, the divinity, we may add, appearing in the lineaments of a Gambetta in one place, of a Crispi in another, and of a Balmaceda in a third. No wonder, with this view of the State, Canon Holland finds the Pope's view "somewhat thin." No wonder also that he thinks the arguments in defence of private property in the Encyclical are inconclusive, because they rest in great part on the truth that the family has an independent sphere of its own, and that private ownership of the means of production is necessary for proper family life, whereas Canon Holland will not hear of the independence of the family.

Then again in the Canon's mind social relations are all in a state of flux and obscurity. "Society is embarked in a new voyage of discovery; it has got to win the revelation of a new order out of the pressure and guidance of living experience." And he speaks of "the strange rough-and-tumble in which man actually is set to manufacture his own social story, illumined by sudden flashes,



menaced by obscurities." And he complains of the clear and precise vision of the world that appears in the Pope's letter as an anachronism quite unsuited to "the boisterous inrush of the new age." Like many other people Canon Holland has been confused by the elaboration of our civilization, by the great technical changes in industry, and by the changes in many political and economic conditions, and has lost sight of what is permanent and unalterable, and fails to see how little the essentials of social life are changed. A lady travels now, it is true, to the South of France in a *coupé lit* not in a *diligence* but her duties to her husband and her children remain the same. In many countries great numbers of the poorer class have or are supposed to have votes: but as before they must eat their bread in the sweat of their brow. Many of us use daily the telegraph and the telephone: but the invention is yet wanting that shall free us from being prone to evil from our youth. No doubt the changes in society require changes in many of our institutions: the Pope makes a point of telling us so; but not changes in the principles of Christian ethics, of which economics and politics are but branches. It may perhaps sound better to be "striving for the revelation of a new order," to "assimilate . . . the new wants and hopes of human nature," and for each State to work out "its progressive destiny." And it is certainly a cold-water douche on these high aspirations to be told bluntly that suffering and hardship must ever be man's lot, that nothing better or nobler than what Christianity has already shown us in social life will ever be found; and that without a return to Christian principles no happy solution of the social question is possible. Only cold water is often useful to bring people back to their senses, and where grave matters are at stake, sober sense is better than sounding rhetoric. Canon Holland will find his rhetoric but a poor weapon for the post he would occupy as one of the "reformers who seek to oppose out-and-out materialism." For in providing fine phrases and brilliant Utopias the extreme party will soon drive these reformers out of the market. What is sad is that one who professes Christianity should have gathered so little profit from the luminous teaching of the Encyclical, and should show so little appreciation of the very elements of Christianity and even of the natural law: sad we say, but not surprising; for we know of old the thick mist that covers those who dwell in the city of confusion.



## Notes of Travel and Exploration.

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**Trans-Australian Journey of Lord Kintore.**—Lord Kintore has signalised his Governorship of South Australia by a journey across the continent from North to South, a feat which few have accomplished. The Northern Territory, which no Governor has ever visited before, was annexed to South Australia by a temporary grant of the land between the 138th and 129th meridians of East longitude, and between the 26th parallel and the sea, together with the adjacent islands. Although said to be a region of great promise, its history has hitherto been a record of failure, and its area of 523,620 square miles was occupied in 1881 by a population of but 4,554, of whom only 101 were females. The Europeans numbered then 670, the Chinese 3,853, and the Malays 31, but these figures have increased considerably since. The population, nevertheless, of Palmerston, or Port Darwin, the principal settlement, is seriously diminishing. The gap of 1,200 miles in the transcontinental railway, which terminates at Oodnadatta, 700 miles from Adelaide on one side, and at Pine Creek, 150 miles from Port Darwin, on the other, leaves the undeveloped northern district cut off from all communication with the South, save by the circuitous and dangerous maritime route. Lord Kintore's journey was thus an exploratory one, and its objects were stated, as follows, in a speech delivered in Adelaide a few days before he started.

Our inheritance in this Southern land is not confined to Adelaide and a few miles round. Far away towards the Equator do our possessions extend. North of the 26th parallel of latitude we own a vast territory stretching to the Arafura Sea. Its wealth in many places is said to be enormous and only waiting to be opened up. You want to know, I want to know, and Her Majesty's Government at home want to know, what hinders its development. All who are acquainted with it admit that its progress is slow, but I can obtain no general consensus of opinion as to what steps are needful to improve its condition. A full report on these matters is required of me. How can I write it? Only, as I believe, by going there and enquiring into matters on the spot. And that is what I am going to do.

Starting, accordingly, from Adelaide on the 26th of February, he travelled overland via Melbourne and Sydney to Brisbane, and thence by boat to Port Darwin, which he reached on March 31st. He had

a cordial reception from the European residents, and a more demonstrative one from the Chinese, who met him in their gala dresses of flowing silk, with bands, banners, and cracker-bearers, who discharged petards in handfuls and boxfuls all along his route. Being prohibited, by the jealousy of the white colonists, from taking part in the dinner given to the Governor by the latter in the Town hall, they invited him to a banquet on their own account, where speeches were made both in English and Chinese, and he was also entertained by the natives at a *corroboree*, in which two tribes, representing opposite parties, took part, in their war paint and feathers. After an expedition on the Adelaide river, in which he succeeded in shooting an alligator, he started for the interior on April 9th, from Pine Creek, the terminus of the railway.

**Across the Continent by Four-in-Hand.**—The party consisted, in addition to Lord Kintore himself, of Dr. Stirling, attached to it as a man of science, Mr. Alfred Pybus, a twenty years' resident in the Northern Territory, who acted as its leader, three drivers, a cook, a trooper, and four black boys. They drove in four-in-hand traps, with pack horses to carry the luggage, and accomplished from 30 to 50 miles a day, experiencing on the whole journey no greater mishap than the breaking of an axle.

Their mode of travel was described as follows, by the "South Australian Register"—

At daylight the black boys would start out to collect the horses that had been roped the night before. The fire would be started by the cook, and the ~~other members~~ of the party would be engaged in rolling up their ~~baggage~~ and tying up their swags and generally preparing for another day's stage. By the time quart pots were boiling and the tea made, the black boys would be heard returning with the horses, so no time was to be lost in completing the morning meal and preparing to leave camp. The ~~pack-horses~~ being loaded, and the riding horses saddled, the trap horses would be harnessed up. The trap containing his Excellency and Dr. Stirling would ~~lead the way~~, followed by the second trap, containing the cook with ~~his baggage~~ and provisions. Then came the pack-horses driven by the black boys. Sometimes the horses were easily started and at times they were not. About 1 p.m., a halt would be made for an hour or more for ~~rest~~ and the journey would be continued till sundown. The tents, being ~~broken up~~, were left behind at Pine Creek, and consequently all hands slept ~~in the open air~~. The two traps would be drawn side by side, and between ~~the two~~ ~~horses~~ for his Excellency and Dr. Stirling would be slung. After ~~the~~ ~~and~~ a few minutes' smoke round the camp fire, all hands would ~~begin to~~ get what sleep was possible with the myriads of mosquitoes that ~~generally~~ appeared as soon as darkness came on, and at daylight next morning much the same routine would be gone through.

Oolnadatta was reached on the 20th of May, the gap of 1,200

miles between the two ends of the railway having been traversed in 37 days. The entire journey of 2,125 miles, between Adelaide and Port Darwin, was accomplished in 40 days of actual travelling.

**Lord Kintore's Report.**—The Governor, on his return, presented a report to his Ministers on the results of his journey, and the capabilities of the territory explored. The richest lands were those on the borders of the rivers in the north, and on those of the Adelaide River, there were, he said, thousands of acres admirably suited to the cultivation of tropical produce. The "Hinterland," on the otherhand, while almost valueless for agricultural purposes, is rich in minerals, including gold, silver, copper, and tin, all known to exist in large quantities over a wide area. The labour difficulty is the hindrance to the development of these mines, as white men are incapable of doing efficient work in the tropical climate of Northern Australia, while the coolies have not as yet been found to work satisfactorily underground.

In this connection (continues the report) I may be allowed to add that it is only those who have lived in the territory who can realise what an important factor in its present social organisation the Chinese are. Remove them to-morrow, and the residents of Palmerston would be left without fish, vegetables, or fruit, to a large extent without meat, without laundries for their washing; neither would there be any tailors, cooks, or domestic servants.

On one point, the report declares the inhabitants of the territory to be absolutely unanimous, the necessity for the completion without delay of the transcontinental railway. As, however, the finances of the colony are unequal to the burden of such an undertaking, the construction of the line on the land grant system, despite its many recognised drawbacks, seems the only alternative. The urgency of some remedial measure is shown by the decay of Port Darwin, the principal settlement of the territory, strikingly demonstrated in the empty and ruinous tenements visible in its streets, and in the extension of the exodus from it even to the Chinese. Something must be done if the depletion is to be arrested, which, if carried much further, would result in its total abandonment. *Times*, September 5th.

**Railways in Siam.**—In addition to the railway from Bangkok to Korat, a distance of 165 miles, about to be constructed under State guarantee, a concession was granted in March, 1891, for a line across the Malay Peninsula, from the port of Singora, in latitude 75° north to Kota Star or Seiburee, the capital of Kedah, a distance of 76 miles,



and thence to Kuhn, the centre of a rich tin-bearing district 60 miles further. Singora lies at the entrance of a large inland sea some 400 miles south of Bangkok, and has been from an early date a centre of distribution from which tin and native produce have been carried in junks both to the capital, the Straits Settlements, and China. The harbour, in its present state, offers safe and deep anchorage during the south west monsoon, but is very difficult of approach during the north east monsoon, owing to the formation of a shifting bar, the removal of which is, consequently, a necessary adjunct to the scheme. The advantages to be derived from the latter are: (1) The acceleration by two or three days of the mail service from Europe to Bangkok, Saigon, and China; (2) the development of the tin and other mineral resources of the districts opened up; and (3) the formation of a line in the Trunk railway connecting Singapore and the Malay protected States with Moulmein and the Indian system.

**The Yangtse and its Gorges.** — A correspondent of the *Times*, writing in its issue of September 19th, describes the facility and comfort with which the great internal highway of China may be traversed for a thousand miles in steamers representing the beau ideal of luxury, combining speed and comfort with attendance and culinary arrangements that leave nothing to be desired. The boat leaving Shanghai at night takes about 30 hours to reach Chungking, the first large port signalised in 1888 by serious riots caused by the batoning of a Chinese by one of the Indian police. Nankin, the ancient capital of China, the centre of the Taiping rebellion, is the next point of interest, after which the traveller reaches Wuhu, the scene of some of the recent disturbances.

All along says the writer the river presents some scene of interest that will attract the eye. Now, perhaps, it is a gorgeous junk floating down stream, a mass of scarlet, of gold, and of dragons, now a ruined pagoda on the banks, now the flat marshes with the buffaloes standing up to their saddles in the water; and again some wretched native village, a collection of ramshackle huts, or a group of fishermen with their circular boats. Pant-ki, a small island, stands in the middle of the river. Its summit is crowned with a pagoda, while near by is a "joss house" or temple. Then comes the city of Ngan king on the north bank of the river, stretching far along its banks and boasting the finest pagoda on the Lower Yangtse. One of the prettiest sights on the lower river is passed a few hours after leaving Ngan king, namely the solitary rock with its poetic name 'The Little Orphan.' It stands fairly in mid stream, and is crowned by a two storeyed pagoda, while clinging to its steep sides is a Buddhist monastery. At this point the scenery on the banks becomes less



low and monotonous. Here are vast reedy marshes in which deer can be seen feeding, there a high range of broken hills, and again at another point a curious pile of pagodas and upturned roofs, by name Hu-kow, the Buddhist monastery at the entrance of the lake Poyang. There remains but one more "treaty port" to pass before Hankow is reached, though numberless picturesque towns are passed at which, however, Europeans are not allowed to trade, and that is Kiu-kiang, of no great size or interest.

Hankow is a great tea emporium, with huge European houses and warehouses, and a curious but dirty native town. On the opposite side of the river, which is here a mile in width, stands Woo-chang, with its collection of "joss houses" and temples known as Hang-ho-hoo, its narrow streets overhung with gaudy gilded signboards, and its fanatical population. Here the Han, a very large tributary, joins the main stream, and the scene at the confluence is one of great animation both on land and water. From Hankow to Ichang, a distance of 350 miles, there are no very striking features until on approaching the latter place the scenery becomes more picturesque, the hills and mountains assuming pyramidal forms, so symmetrical that they seem as if shaped by the hand of man, while a curious freak of nature is seen in the rocky arch which frames and sets off the landscape visible beyond. After leaving Ichang the journey must be continued in a junk or houseboat, the latter if procurable, affording greater space and comfort to the traveller. Up to this point the river has retained its imposing breadth, but five miles above it narrows to form the Ichang gorge, the first of a series of chasms through which the stream has cloven its way.

Vain were it for any pen (says the writer) to describe the scenery which, as gorge after gorge unfolds itself, meets the eye. Vain to think by means of words alone to convey to the reader the vast dimensions of the huge cliffs that rise perpendicularly on either hand, straight from the water's edge, not allowing in most places even a narrow pathway. As one sails up in the evening twilight gloom, one can only wonder and gaze. The "Needle of Heaven," a rock rising from the water's edge, a pillar as it were, almost uniform in breadth at its base and at its summit, crowned with a cluster of firs, is above 1,800 feet in height, and yet it looks quite insignificant amongst the high peaks which surround it. Steeper and steeper grow the rocks and precipices, till, almost with a sigh of relief, one emerges into more open ground, where small villages, with bright fantastic joss houses, half hidden in groves of emerald bamboos and trees, present themselves. And so it is mile after mile, here gorges, the river winding between mountains that seem to block its path, so narrow are some of the outlets, here the roaring rapids, up which a hundred men or more would tow our boat, and here again a long reach between cultivated lands golden with the autumn crops. Boats would come floating down, great rafts, which in comparison with the scenery looked like canoes, until they would come near enough for us to see that they were bearing a living cargo, at times of hundreds of people. These rafts are put together on the upper reaches of the stream, and are broken up on reaching their destination, as the current is too strong to allow of their being transported up stream.

**Exploration of the Victoria Nyanza.**—The large bay on the south-western angle of Lake Victoria, first seen by Mr. Stanley on his last journey, as it was overlooked by previous explorers, has been recently examined by the German priest, Father Schynse, with a view to discovering suitable sites for missionary stations. From Bukumbi, on the south shore of the lake, he circumnavigated the new bay, which had so long escaped attention owing to the fringe of islands that screens its front. It extends to 2° 30' south latitude, but is very shallow, and seems to be in process of gradual dessication. Following the shore of the lake towards the north, Father Schynse proceeded to within a few marches of the capital of Uganda, and gives some interesting details of the countries traversed. Round the south-west of the lake dwell the Basinji, a hybrid people originally forming the single kingdom of Usinja, but now disintegrated into a number of independent tribes. They occupy a country which though generally flat, has a range of mountains which ensure a sufficient supply of rain. From their border to that of Uganda, the country is occupied by the Baziba, among whom the traveller was well received after having had some difficulties with their neighbours. Their land consists of ranges of heights on which the population dwell, leaving the marshy valleys running parallel to the lake uninhabited. Great part of their country is treeless, the heights being covered with grass furnishing good pasture, but there is also a district still overgrown by the primeval forest. At Bukoba, where Emin Pasha had a station, the country was well watered by numerous flowing streams, and seemed very fertile. It is thickly peopled, the banana furnishing the staple food of the inhabitants, though they have fine cattle, whose superb horns distinguished them from all the other native breeds, and resemble those of some of the European varieties. The people, too, differ from their neighbours, and were considered by Father Schynse to be ethnologically isolated. ("Times," October 17th.)

**Resources of Assam.**—Although principally associated with the production of tea, there is reason to believe that, with the opening up of its communications, Assam will be rich in other products as well. Coal is already being worked in increasing quantities, the Assam Railways and Trading Company having opened a pioneer line to the mines at the foot of the Naga Hills, beyond Dibrugarh. The output of coal, which in 1884 amounted to 17,000 tons, had grown in 1888 to over 101,000, and in 1890 to 145,000 tons, while for 1891 a still further increase to 175,000 was expected. The coal is of excellent quality, and is

used by the P. and O., British India, Anchor, and City Lines, as well as by both the Inland Navigation Companies on the Brahmaputra. It is worked by galleries driven into two steep hills, and is shot down the incline to the railway in four trolleys which, in their descent by means of a wire rope passed over a drum, draw up an equal number of empties. Two thousand coolies are employed in the mines, and the seam, which has an average thickness of 50 feet, contains coal enough to maintain the present rate of production for at least a hundred years. The entire coal formation extends along the Naga Hills for a hundred miles, and is estimated to contain an aggregate of some 50 million tons. The present railway, which has a branch to Sadiya through a district of tea gardens, will be connected with the projected railway from Chittagong, and eventually extended to Northern Burmah, when there will be a large increase in the market open to the Assam coal. Petroleum exists in combination with the latter, and is already being extracted by the same company. Iron and limestone are also found, the latter in large quantities, and gold is said by natives to exist in the back country. The soil is of extraordinary fertility, capable of producing, in addition to rice its staple crop, pine-apples, cotton, maize, sugar, and tobacco. The acreage under tea in 1890 shows an increase of 3,789 over the previous year, the total being 231,038. The aggregate production, reported at 82,119,252 lbs., is also an increase of 5,203,424 lbs. over that of 1889.—“Board of Trade Journal,” October, 1891.

**Capabilities of Bolivia.**—Bolivia is stated to be financially on a better footing than most of the South American Republics, as its internal debt is under four and a half million dollars, and its foreign debt is not only insignificant in amount, but is rapidly being paid off. Communication with the coast, the only thing wanting to develop its resources, will soon be supplied, for one of the Argentine railways has been pushed to its frontier, and another from the Chilean port of Antofagasta has been extended to near Oruro in the centre of the Bolivian plateau, a distance of 400 miles. An outlet through Peruvian territory will also be secured by the extension of a line from Arequipa, Mollendo, and Puno to La Paz. A project for opening up water communication with the Atlantic by the tributaries of the Amazon and La Plata is also regarded with favour. Bolivia is rich in mineral deposits, and contains, in addition to the silver mines of Potosi, the most productive in the world, others scarcely less promising, at Oruro, Aullaga, and Lipez. As much as 21 million dollars' worth of



Bolivian silver has been exported from Buenos Ayres in a single year. Among other minerals found in the country are tin, lead, bismuth, platinum, mercury, iron, zinc, coal, magnetic ore, talc, and rock crystal, as well as many varieties of precious stones, and of marbles and slates, besides basalt, chalk, saltpetre, borax, common salt, and magnesia. The Bolivian guano and nitrate deposits were appropriated by Chile, as the prize of the war in which she defeated the two neighbouring Republics. Bolivia, from her wide range of surface inequalities, combines the products of the temperate and tropical zones. Wheat is grown in sufficient quantities to provide a surplus for exportation to Peru and Chile. Coffee, said to be superior to Mocha, is cultivated with success. Sugar cane grows freely and cocoa on so large a scale as to have been valued in 1885 at 1,718,320 dollars. The supply of india rubber is almost unlimited, and already forms one of the principal articles of export.- "Board of Trade Journal," October, 1891

**Scotch Mission at Blantyre.** A correspondent of the "Times," writing in its issue of October 20th, describes an interview with Mr Joseph Thomson, immediately on his return from Africa. Illness having compelled the traveller to spend several weeks at Blantyre, the head quarters of the planters and missionaries of the Scotch Established Church in the Shire Highlands, he was much struck with the progress of the settlement. Coffee, which commands the highest price in Mincing-lane, is grown over extensive areas, and sugar, tea, tobacco, and other crops, are being tried with every prospect of success. The natives, who a few years ago devastated the whole region, now come 200 or 300 miles to work in the plantations. In addition to day schools, boarding schools are kept by the missionaries, in which 200 to 300 boys and youths, principally the sons of chiefs, are educated. Handicrafts and various practical avocations are taught, and football and other English games played by the masters and pupils during recreation. Many are so attached to the place that they prefer to spend their vacation there instead of going home. Some when they leave, build houses for themselves, marry one wife, and show by their lives that their training has not been altogether in vain. The white settlers live with all the comforts of civilisation, in well-built houses with large rooms, good table appointments, and libraries supplied with standard books. A church has been built by native labourers under white supervision, of materials, all except the glass and some of the internal fittings produced on the spot, the natives having baked the bricks, made the lime, hewed the timber, and reared the edifice

from foundations to roof. The methods of the Catholic missionaries in Africa and elsewhere seem here to have been imitated with success. The climate admits of the residence of European settlers with reasonable precautions, and Mr. Thomson believes that over the entire of the adjacent plateau Englishmen can live as well as they do in India, though he does not believe it suited for agricultural colonisation. It can be reached in six weeks from England by the Cape of Good Hope.

**Rain Making in Texas.**—The "Times," of October 8th, gives an account of the artificial production of rain in Texas, of which only fragmentary telegraphic reports had previously reached this country. The United States Government having appointed General Dyrenforth commissioner for the purpose, he accepted an invitation to begin operations on a ranch 23 miles north-west of Midland, in a very dry and arid region, where the pasturage was scanty. A shed having been built in which to prepare the large quantity of gases required, a number of balloons were filled with a mixture of hydrogen and oxygen in the proportion of two to one, and exploded, some by time fuses at a height of one and a half to five miles, the rest by wire, at a height of 1,000ft. above the earth. The balloon ascents were, however, rendered rather uncertain by the prevalence of high winds, and the explosion of "rackarock" powder and dynamite on the surface of the ground was more successful. Charges of powder of from 8lbs. to 24lbs. each, and of from 6lbs. to 12lbs. of dynamite, were exploded at intervals sometimes of less than a minute, and explosions were also let off in the tails of kites. The effect of these explosions is said to have been in every case satisfactory, as in each a series of explosions was followed within ten hours by rain, sufficiently establishing the connection of cause and effect between the occurrences. On the night of September 19th, says the writer, the final experiments were made under a starry and cloudless sky, with a strong gale blowing from the east. Five balloons were sent up and exploded, and 200lbs. of "rackarock" powder and 150lbs. of dynamite let off on the ground. There was no immediate result, and a rising barometer pointing to "fair" seemed to give little promise of any. By three in the morning, however, a bank of cloud appeared in the west in the direction in which the smoke had blown, and by four the rain began, accompanied by thunder and lightning, and lasting till eight. Many heavy charges were then fired, and showers fell after each. General Dyrenforth then left for Washington, but was to resume operations later on a large scale at El Paso, Texas, and then in South-Western Kansas. Meanwhile a telegram from Topeka and

nounces that a contract has been signed with a local organisation by Melbourne, the rainmaker, in which he undertakes to water the north western part of Kansas during June, July, and August, 1892, at the rate of one dollar per acre. He proposes also, to hold a series of mass meetings throughout the North Western States, with a view to arousing interest in his method. It is obvious, if the latter be capable of general application, how vastly it would enlarge the productive area of the globe, and of what incalculable benefit it would be to countries like India and Australia, where all rural industry is carried on under the threat of periodical droughts.

**The Nijni Novogrod Fair.** A report to the Foreign Office from Mr. J. Michell, Her Majesty's Consul at St. Petersburg, declares the results of the Nijni Novogrod Fair last year to have been far from satisfactory. The failure of the harvest in twenty of the most fertile provinces in the Empire, and the diminution, very marked this year, of the water in the Volga and its tributaries are the chief causes to which this falling off is ascribed. The arrival of deeply laden barges bringing iron and other commodities was delayed, and the supply of raw produce at the fair thus much diminished, while the manufactured articles brought found few buyers, owing to the diminished purchasing power of the country. The value of manufactured goods sold was consequently 30 per cent. less than in 1890. As a set-off against this decrease a brisk business was done in grain and other raw native products for exportation, as the low rate of exchange for the rouble favoured the outward trade. But even apart from the exceptional circumstances of this year, it is evident from previous returns, and from the increasing number of vacant warehouses within the fair compound, that the annual gathering is losing its former importance. The progressive, though slow development of the Russian railway system during the past five and twenty years has created new centres of commerce and diverted the trade of the country into other channels, and the completion of the projected Siberian railway will give the *coup de grace* to Nijni Novogrod as a great market. The Russian merchants and manufacturers assembled at the fair, combined in urging the Finance Minister to encourage the manufacture of native cotton goods by allowing them a drawback on export equivalent to the import duty on raw cotton. This measure they declare is needed in order to enable them to face the diminished consumption of their goods at home in the present impoverished state of the country, by the acquisition of new markets abroad, especially in Central Asia, where the desired drawback would enable them to compete successfully with English manufacturers.



**An Underground City.**—The correspondent of an Indian newspaper tells of a singular discovery made by the Russians in Central Asia. In Turkestan, on the right bank of the Amu Darya, in a chain of rocky hills near the Bokharan town of Karki, are a number of large caves, which upon examination were found to lead to an underground city, built apparently, long before the Christian era. According to effigies, inscriptions, and designs, wrought upon the gold and silver money unearthed among the ruins, the existence of the town dates back to some two centuries before the birth of Christ. The underground Bokharan city is about two versts long, and is composed of an enormous labyrinth of corridors, streets, and squares, surrounded by houses and other buildings two or three storeys high. The edifices contain all kinds of domestic utensils, pots, urns, vases, and so forth. In some of the streets, falls of earth and rock have obstructed the passages, but generally the visitor can walk about freely without so much as lowering his head. The high degree of civilisation attained by the inhabitants of the city is shown by the fact that they built in several storeys, by the symmetry of the streets and squares, and by the beauty of the baked clay and metal utensils, and of the ornaments and coins which have been found. It is supposed that long centuries ago this city, so carefully concealed in the bowels of the earth, provided an entire population with a refuge from the incursions of invaders and robbers. ("The Tablet," October 24th.)

**Remarkable Caves in Tasmania.**—Mr. Morton described to a meeting of the Royal Society of Tasmania last June some remarkable caves recently discovered near Southport in that colony. The entrance is through a limestone formation, and a strong stream flows through the floor of the chambers. The lights carried by the party being extinguished, the ceiling and sides of the cavern seemed studded with diamonds, an effect due to millions of glow-worms which hung suspended there, the only living creatures seen in the distance of three-quarters of a mile traversed. The caves are supposed to extend three or four miles, but have not been explored throughout.—("Nature," October 15th).

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## Notes on Novels.

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**A Sydney-side Saxon.** By ROLF BOLDREWOOD. London: Macmillan, 1891.

**T**HOSE who look for vivid descriptions of life at the Antipodes from the author of "Robbery under Arms" will not be disappointed in his present volume. The romantic element is almost absent from its pages, on which are recounted, in autobiographical form, the fortunes of a Kentish rustic as an immigrant in New South Wales. The happy contrast offered by his fate to that of the English agricultural labourer is emphasised by the story of his father, compelled after a life of toil to end his days in the workhouse. It may, in fact, be regarded as a tract in favour of emigration, in such glowing colours does it paint the possibilities opened up to thrift and good conduct in the southern hemisphere, as compared with the hopeless future that awaits the poor in a land already overcrowded with inhabitants. It is useful, moreover, in showing how these golden prospects are dependent, in Australia as everywhere else, on habits of self-discipline, and how they are frequently marred by the fatal vice which the Anglo-Saxon has carried with him to darken the future of the otherwise happy continent. Drinking is there a scourge, whose victims far out-number even those sacrificed to it in the mother country, death from alcoholism in some of the colonies exceeding those in England in the proportion of three to one. The hero being exempt from this failing, soon gets his foot on the first rung of the ladder of success, and thence rapidly climbs upwards. In receipt of large wages from the beginning as a shepherd and stock rider, he invests his savings in land, and so becomes, at first on a small scale, a proprietor on his own account. Thus, in a country "where land is cheap and men are dear," he prospers and flourishes, adding to his possessions until they cover an area that would be a respectable fraction of an English county. The young ladies whose acquaintance he makes are principally remarkable for their proficiency in horsemanship, despite of which one falls a victim to her ambition in riding a steeplechase.

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**In the "Stranger People's" Country.** By CHARLES EGBERT CRADDOCK, London: Osgood & Co., 1891.

ONCE more the writer who conceals her identity under the above pseudonym, transports us into those highlands of Tennessee, which her magic pen has made for us such fairy-land of enchantment. Vivid as ever are the touches with which she calls up pictures of scenery, and episodes of rural life, though perhaps some of the intangible aroma of early spontaneity has evaporated from her highly finished style. Yet in her own peculiar *genre* she has done nothing to surpass her inimitable description of the "infair" or wedding dance in the Pettingills' cabin, with the tragic climax so artistically enhanced by the rude festivity of its surroundings. The humours of the mountain merry-making, the under current of slumbering savagery beneath its superficial gaiety, the plastic complaisance of the candidate seeking the suffrages of his rough associates, are all vivified to our imagination by that knowledge of the deeper springs of human nature which alone gives meaning to the presentment of its lighter moods. The drama of which these local accessories are the setting, is swift yet thrilling in its action. Crime and violence, inseparable from so rude a state of society, involve the innocent with the guilty in their results, and the temporary complications thus introduced into the lives of the actors form the subject of the plot. None of the author's rustic heroines is limned with more subtle intensity than Letitia, whose dainty beauty is as little appreciated by the coarser taste of the "mounting" as is the keen wit whose shafts are winged with scorn. Incisive phrases are as thickly scattered over these, as over any previous pages by the author, and "that universal bridal manner, intimating a persuasion that no one else has ever been married," and "that expression of proprietorship (in looking at his patient) which everywhere marks the physician," are pen-flashes which engrave themselves on the memory.

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**The Mischief of Monica.** By L. B. WALFORD. London: Longman and Co., 1891.

THE foibles of the ultra-fashionable world are satirised with considerable skill in the tale of the social vicissitudes encountered by Monica and Isabel Lavenham, well born, but undowered damsels, dependent on others for their position. Thrown upon the world at an early age, they have imbibed its maxims from the uncle



who gives them a half-grudging shelter until the novelty of introducing two brilliant and lovely girls into society has lost a little of its first charm. The establishment in Lowndes Square, whence they had been launched upon the world of Belgravia and Mayfair, being then summarily shut up, they are turned over to an uncle on their mother's side of the house, occupying the comparatively inferior position of a rich Liverpool merchant. Their dismay at their suburban surroundings, and contempt for the luxurious home provided for them, soon begin to be tempered by a sense of the superior kindness of their new guardian, and thus they gradually come to perceive something of the heartlessness of their old life. To Monica the lesson is, however, only finally brought home by the recognition of her own unworthy conduct in luring away her cousin's suitor, for the gratification of her idle vanity and love of admiration. The dignity with which her despised rival receives the slight put upon her, opens her eyes to her own inferiority in the good feeling which is the essence of good breeding, and she repents, when it is too late to make amends for the wrong done. Her own heart has meantime become involved, while her happiness is rendered impossible by pecuniary impediments. A further change of fortune deposits the sisters in the shabby genteel poverty of London lodgings, but this proves but to be but a temporary eclipse of fate, and they are left in the end in full happiness and prosperity. Their story thus points a useful moral lesson, while it is written with sufficient vivacity and sparkle to convey it in very entertaining form.

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**Narcissa Brendon.** By EDWARD PEACOCK. London: John Hodges. 1891.

**I**T is refreshing to meet with a novel of the good old fashioned type, with plenty of plotting and counterplotting, beauty in distress, and a villain of the most thoroughgoing description. Innocence too presents itself under the most suspicious circumstances, and there are two ladies of great personal attractions, whom a wicked world will persist in believing all they ought not to be, because recipients of the devotion of two eligible noblemen, whom they are all the time virtuously refusing to marry. One of them, named, with an alarming combination of mythology and history, Astarte Sorrel, is in addition both a crack horsewoman and a crack shot, two accomplishments, either of which is sufficient in itself to destroy a reputation. Notwithstanding all these suspicious circumstances, she

is in reality pious, charitable, a devout Catholic, and eventually an ornament to the peerage, when, in the concluding chapter, she consents to be a duchess. The story is, however, principally concerned with the fortunes of the second afflicted damsel, Miss de Nieva, persecuted by the pursuit of the villain, Colonel Thornton. She is, by his contention his wife, and indeed would have been so, had not his marriage to her been invalidated by his being already married to another. He is a most undesirable husband, as he is a semi-lunatic, liable to paroxysms of homicidal mania, who in his previous career has already killed a girl, and thrown the suspicion of the deed on an innocent priest, by confessing it to him, and so sealing his lips as to the truth. The most impressive scene in the book is his absolution on his deathbed by this very priest, who though suspended from his functions, had yet power to exercise them in case of extremity. The conduct of the nominal heroine, Narcissa Brendon, in breaking off her engagement with the man she loves, and marrying one she despises, remains rather enigmatical, though she is in other respects an interesting figure.

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## Notes on Foreign Periodicals.

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*Revue des Questions Historiques.* Juillet, 1891.

**The State of Education before the Revolution.**—No one can maintain that popular education was in a flourishing condition under the old regime; but, thanks chiefly to an inquiry ordered by the Legislative Assembly in November, 1791, we are able to show that the number and efficiency of the schools were far greater than is generally supposed, and that the rash reforms of the constituent assembly did incalculable injury to the cause of education. Canon Allain, who is already well known for his valuable work, "*L'Instruction primaire en France avant la Révolution*," has made a careful study of the returns, and contributes to the "*Revue*" a résumé of his labours. It would not be possible to give here any further summary of what is already so condensed; anyone interested in the subject should read the article itself, where he will find abundant proof of the two facts just stated. One would naturally have judged that the suppression of tithes, feudal rights, and tolls, the sale of church property, the expulsion of the religious orders,

the civil constitution of the clergy, and the new oath would have brought about the financial ruin of the educational establishments, the dispersion of the teaching staffs, and the diminution of the number of scholars. And so we find in the returns numberless incidents of schools and colleges, of all grades, either closed altogether or unable to keep up their former footing, by reason of want of teachers or of funds to pay them.

It is consoling to find how general was the refusal to take the oath, and to note that, even where some of the staff had stooped to do so, the parents withdrew their children from the school. Canon Allain makes some sort of apology for the dryness of his article, and for its want of literary merit. But, surely, his mere facts and figures speak far more eloquently than any rhetorical embellishments, especially of the kind in which his countrymen so often indulge.

**Was Roger Bacon Imprisoned?** The story of Friar Bacon, the mediæval Galileo, is at best a melancholy one. A literary and scientific genius, born out of due time, waging war against his age and opposed by it in return, he has ever been held up to honour as one of the foremost martyrs of science. Not content with the facts of the case, which in truth are sad enough, bigoted writers have pictured to us the gloomy dungeons in which he is said to have been immured, and the tortures to which they assert he was subjected. Our popular historian, Mr. Green, is an honourable exception to this class, and has done much to dispel the commonly accepted legends. "If we may credit a more recent story," he says, in his excellent sketch of Bacon's life, "his writings only gained him a prison from his order." The Abbé Feret has therefore done well to examine the evidence on which this story rests. It appears that two distinct imprisonments are alleged, one beginning in 1257, the other in 1278.

The Franciscan order to which Bacon belonged had forbidden the study of Natural Science, Magic, Astrology, and the like. We are not here concerned to defend this prohibition, but all will admit that a religious body, professing the strictest poverty and devoting itself to the work of missions among the poor, was within its right in not allowing its members to engage in scientific pursuits requiring much time and money. Friar Roger undoubtedly disobeyed this regulation time after time, and was consequently reprimanded by his superiors. No doubt they would have acted more wisely had they encouraged his studies. Unfortunately, they forbade him to publish anything, and sent him away from Oxford to a convent of their order in Paris. This detention in a foreign convent, a not



uncommon penance among religious, is the origin of the alleged first imprisonment. It should ever be remembered that his release, and the composition of his three famous works "*Opus Majus*," "*Opus Minus*," and "*Opus Tertium*," were due to the instigation of Clement IV. Mr. Green remarks that no acknowledgment reached him from the Pope. True; for the Pontiff died before there was time to do so. A bad time was now at hand for Bacon. He seems to have become embittered by his long period of repression. Aristotle, "the master of those who know," Alexander of Hales, the glory of his own order, Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas, the great lights of the rival order of the Dominicans, and even the Court of Rome, were all alike assailed by his bitterest ridicule. At length, in 1278, he was once more condemned by his superiors; this time for his teaching on Astrology and Magic. M. Peret admits that he was now confined in the prison of his convent, according to the custom of the day. But even here he was able to continue his studies, though he could not publish the result of his labours. Hence Bacon's persecution amounts to this: he was exiled and detained in a foreign convent, and afterwards underwent real incarceration, but only in the convent prison. As I have said, the truth is sad enough. M. Peret has done good service in removing the exaggeration from the story, and in reducing it to its proper, though regrettable limits.

**Octobre. The Revolution of July, 1789.**—M. Sepet gives us a second instalment of his history of the Revolution. The present portion deals with the events leading up to and including the capture of the Bastille, and the immediate consequences of that triumph of popular violence. The baneful influence of the Palais Royal coterie, presided over by the infamous Duc d'Orleans, naturally receives prominent notice. M. Sepet does not lay claim to originality; but he says with truth that he has tried to tell his story accurately and fairly, and, it may be added, with no small literary skill.

**The Early History of the Israelites.**—A recent Dutch critic of the Pentateuch, M. Kuenen, has gone so far as to assert that the whole story of the Exodus is not only impossible, but absurd. His work on the subject has been most ably answered in the "*Révue*" by the Abbé de Moor. Even if we were to grant that the Egyptian monuments are silent concerning the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt and their departure under Moses, it would by no means follow that the biblical account was a fable. Every Egyptologist recognises that these monuments never refer to

any events which were disastrous, just as one does not expect to find a Jena Brücke in Berlin or an Avenue Sédan in Paris. Besides, the dynasty which favoured Joseph and his countrymen was alien, and was hated by the Egyptians. When the native royal race regained sway, great care was taken to remove every trace of the foreign domination. But although this and other observations of a like character would be a sufficient answer to the critics belonging to the negative school, M. de Moor goes on to find positive proofs of the vicinity of the Mosaic record. He is inclined to believe that the Exodus took place during the reign of Seti II., not during that of Merneptah I., for the former reigned only a short time, and died a violent death, or at any rate disappeared suddenly, and, besides, the circumstances of his reign fit in best with the story of the Exodus. The passage of the Red Sea naturally presents great difficulty to those who deny the miracle of the division of the waters. But if this be granted, the time occupied and the various other circumstances mentioned by Moses can be easily harmonized, though, of course, the precise site of the crossing cannot be determined with certainty. Another favourite objection of the sceptical school is the alleged impossibility of the non-intervention of the Hittites on behalf of their allies, the Canaanites. M. de Moor points out that at the time of the conquest, the Northern Hittites were themselves being overcome by a horde of invaders, and were forced into a war against Ramesses III., by whom they and their recent conquerors were defeated.

**The Organization of the Christian Churches in the Third Century.**—A learned and at the same time interesting paper on this subject, read by F. de Smedt, S.J., at the Catholic Science Congress, held in Paris in April last, now appears in this number of the "Revue." His opinions are somewhat opposed to those commonly held, and have already aroused some opposition. Thus he maintains that there was no such thing as parochial organization in the large cities, and particularly in Rome and Alexandria, before the middle of the fifth century. During the persecutions of Decius and Valerian, simple priests often performed sacred functions and exercised jurisdiction previously reserved to bishops. But in this he sees only an abnormal and transitory state of things, and in no way the germ of the parochial system. Moreover, he is of opinion that in the first three centuries there is no trace of the exercise of primatial authority—that of the See of Rome, of course, excepted. The occupants of the chief Sees of the various provinces, no doubt, had considerable influence over the other bishops, but

this influence was only moral and was largely due to personal qualities. Nor is there, according to Father de Smedt, any proof that the bishops looked upon councils as anything more than useful expedients for deciding disputes. It is much to be regretted that he was not able to go on to examine the early history of the supremacy of Rome. He observed, however, that although the successors of St. Peter showed that they were conscious of their high prerogatives, the exercise of these was not always possible owing to local prejudices and other obstacles. Altogether the paper is well worthy of careful study. T.B.S.

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NOTES ON GERMAN PERIODICALS BY CANON BELLESHEIM, OF  
AACHEN.

**"Katholik."** The August issue opened with an article on "Louis de Thomassin of the Oratory and his works," contributed by Abbé Thomassin, residing in Munich. It is all the more worth reading, since the learned author does not confine himself to the printed works of Thomassin, but fortunately employs manuscripts to which he had access through the kindness of his family. The first article affords a vivid picture of Thomassin's development and draws the history of his first learned book, "*Dissertationes in concilia generalia et particularia*." We are glad to see that the author of the article, far from acting as a mere apologist, points out the drawbacks of the work, and mainly in those parts which fall short of what might have been looked for from a defender of the prerogatives of the Holy See. Next we meet with the work, "*De Gratia*." In sifting it M. Thomassin is careful in pointing out the system adopted by the learned oratorian, who wished to occupy his position between Molina and Bañez, thus disclaiming both the systems of the "*scientia media*" and "*the prædeterminatio physica*." In the second article we get glimpses into the making and the contents of the famous "*Vetus et nova ecclesiae disciplina circa beneficia*," which made its appearance in French in 1678, and owing to its exceptional value soon was translated into Latin. Indeed, there were to be found not a few sentences to which Innocent XI. took opposition. Thomassin's theology was not thoroughly devoid of Gallicanism. But for all that, the work was possessed of qualities such as to urge on the Pope the happy idea of calling the oratorian to Rome. But honourable as was this scheme for De Thomassin, and useful as it might have proved for the interests of historical science, Louis XIV. flatly refused him permission



to leave the country. The work which for ever has established the fame of De Thomassin are his "*Dogmata Theologica*." Indeed he is largely drawing on Petavius, but on the other hand has merits of his own, particularly in the treatise on the Incarnation. It is here "that he succeeded in laying bare recondite connections and revealing analogies which are enchanting to the scholar." The third article is devoted to De Thomassin's personal qualities, amongst which we may bring into relief his eminent piety and unbounded charity. This series of articles fully repays perusal. From the gifted pen of Dr. Ratzke we have articles on the history of the relics of St. Elizabeth of Thuringer. A large amount of historical documents is successfully handled. A most touching episode is the translation of the relics in the celebrated church in Marburg, one of the most perfect specimens of Gothic architecture all over Germany. F. Baeumer, formerly in Maredsous, now in the Benedictine Abbey of Beuron, is following up his profound articles on the history of the breviary. The period he is commenting on covers the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, down to the Council of Trent. The residence of the Popes in Avignon proved disastrous to the development of the liturgy. Our author points out the work of Ralph of Tongern (1401), "*De canonum observantia*," which severely, but deservedly, inveighs against not a few corruptions which gradually had crept into liturgical uses. Whilst the Sunday office (*Officium de Dominica*), as bringing out the special importance of the ecclesiastical year, and the features of the holy seasons had sunk into insignificance, the feasts under "duplex" in the course of time had been encumbered by many devotions, which went to render the choir office a heavy burden for those priests who were charged with parochial duties. Several attempts made to reform the breviary proved abortive, and fell short of what was hoped for. A severe criticism is passed on the collection of ecclesiastical hymns and the breviary composed in 1528 by Zacharius Ferreri, Bishop of Guarda Alfieri, in the kingdom of Naples (1523). These hymns, greatly to their disadvantage, are decidedly influenced by the spirit of the renaissance. F. Zimmermann, of Ditton Hall, lays before German readers F. Hunter Blair's English translation of my history of the Catholic Church in Scotland, and Robert Story's "*The Church of Scotland Past and Present*." We must not omit to bring to the cognizance of English scholars Canon Stoeckl's eminent and recent work, "*History of Christian Philosophy during the period of the Fathers of the Church*" (Mainz, 1891). Whoever is acquainted with the excellent "*Manuals of Catholic Philosophy*" will no doubt be familiar with the

name and the numerous works of Professor Stoeckl, who ranks foremost amongst the champions of Catholic philosophy. Three periods are distinguished by our author, the gradual growth of patristic philosophy, its perfect development, and its decline under the incursion of the barbarians. Professor Stoeckl is fortunate in dealing with some great scholars, as Boethius and St. John of Damascus, who under God's providence were enabled to hand down the treasures of patristic philosophy to the middle ages.

**"Historisch-politische Blaetter."**—To destroy "fables convenues" is nowadays one of the most noble aims of Catholic historiography. Confining himself to the diocese of Strasburg, Abbé Paulus, relying on unimpeachable documents, successfully explodes the somewhat daring contention that only about the end of 1791 the revolutionary government of France had set itself to persecute the Catholic Church. Other articles describe Dr. John Eok's opinions about the "usura." A long series of suggestive articles on "Ireland's history at the end of the last century" is contributed by F. Zimmermann, of Ditton Hall. As may be readily guessed, he takes advantage of Mr. Lecky's splendid work of England's history in the last century. But far from blindly following him, he points out many grievous defects by which full justice is denied to Ireland. Abbé Paulus happily revives the memory of the learned Dominican scholar, William Hammer, who, at the outbreak of the Reformation as a scholar and a preacher, has well deserved of the church. In another article, part of a correspondence is printed between Cardinal Consalvi and William of Humboldt, formerly Prussian ambassador at Rome. Father Wolfsgruber, a learned Benedictine of Vienna, the biographer of Cardinal Rauscher, has just brought out a "Life of Cardinal M'gazzi," who was archbishop of Vienna in the time of Joseph II., and proved himself to be a strong supporter of ecclesiastical liberty against the encroachments of this Emperor.

**"Stimmin aus Maria Laach."** - F. Lehmkuhl contributes an article on some errors in social philosophy, as corrected by the recent encyclical letter of the Holy Father, "De conditione opificum."

F. Beissel comments on the holy Coat of Treves. In Germany we have not many scholars who could vie with F. Beissel in solid learning as to the ecclesiastical history of Treves, which he has wonderfully described in many very thorough works. T. Schintz treats on the devotions of Catholic Denmark in the period immediately preceding the outburst of the Reformation.

F. Frick affords an exhaustive critique on the elaborate and painstaking work of one of our best Catholic professors of philosophy, "Clemens Bauniker, the problem of Matter in the Greek philosophy" (Munster, 1891). To F. Henry Pesck we owe some articles on the philosophy of "scientific socialism," laying bare the disastrous errors of those modern socialists who declining Christianity and the authority of the Church rest their systems on anti-Christian, or atheistic philosophy. Professor Kaftan in Berlin, looking out for a new dogma, old Protestantism being now superseded, is brought to task by Father Grandérath. Damiani's contest with Hildebrand receives a thorough illustration by F. Pfulf.

On the far reaching question of races and nationalities in the United States and North America an article is contributed by F. Zimmermann. The second and third volumes of my history of the Catholic Church in Ireland (Mainz, 1891) are noticed by F. Pfulf.

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## Notices of Books.

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**Historia Bibliothecæ Romanorum Pontificum tum Bonifaticæ tum Avenionensis enarrata et antiquis earum indicibus alisque documentis illustrata.** a FRANCISCO EHRLÉ, S.J., Romæ. Typis Vaticanis. 1890.

**W**HILST Commendatore De Rossi, in the preface to "Tomus primus recensione codicum Palatinorum latinorum bibliothecæ Vaticanæ" in 1886, has traced the history of the library of the holy See down from the first century to the period of Innocent III, who transferred the library and archives to the Vatican, it has fallen to the lot of F. Ehrle to follow up this noble task and continue the history to the time of Martin V. In a splendid volume comprising not less than 786 pages we enjoy the first part of his vast enterprise. He has ransacked the Vatican archives, and next to them the Borghese Library, which happily is possessed of not a few books which formerly belonged to some of the Avignon Popes. Next we mark out the National library of Paris, and the archives in Toulouse and Avignon, on which he largely has drawn. F. Ehrle's method in grappling with the vast materials piled up in these store-houses is admirable. Owing to his intimate familiarity with medieval scholastic theology and critical acumen, he shows himself fully



equal to the incessantly occurring difficulties which he easily overcomes, and so arrives at presenting us a vivid picture of mediæval literary life.

The first part is devoted to the library of Boniface VIII., so styled, not from being collected by that famous Pope, but rather because it owes him its preservation, since in 1295 he caused that library to be transferred from Naples to Rome, and fully described. It is to the great credit of F. Ehrle that he has completely inserted the several indices or descriptions of the Papal libraries, since they enable us to take a view into the literary tastes and tendencies of the several ages. They are opened by the description ordered to be made by Boniface VIII. in 1296. Next we become acquainted with the vicissitudes of the library and treasure of the holy See, which for many years were preserved in Perugia, and afterwards in the famous Franciscan Convent in Assisi. John XXII. and Benedict XII. caused the library, part of which became transferred from Assisi to Avignon, to be described in A.D. 1323, 1327, and 1339. English scholars will be singularly interested in a document gathered for the first time from the Vatican archives by which John XXII., September 14, 1322, summons the abbot of St. Peter's, Perugia, together with John de Amlio "*Canonico Lizpenfeldensi*" to describe the treasure in Assisi. Due stress is laid on the *Recensio Perusina*, viz., the description of the papal library drawn up in Perugia A.D., 1311, by order of Clement V. F. Ehrle has it printed page 26-102.

The second part is exclusively devoted to the history of the library in Avignon. We do not hesitate to pronounce this part one of the most learned contributions to mediæval church history. Of course our author omits nothing to bring into prominence the origin, development, and special character of this library. But under his able hand these notices develop into a history of mediæval culture and theology. Far from satisfying himself with reproducing the several descriptions of the library, he is careful in collecting the single books under their respective scientific-disciplines, and putting them to the test of the most modern historical researcher. We wish to urge the attention of scholars to the *Recentio Gregoriana*, dating from A.D. 1365, and printed Ehrle, page 453-561. If there was any country which might boast of great scholastics it was England, as everybody may gather from the description. No doubt F. Ehrle is fully justified in ascribing the "*Liber de questionibus Arminiorum*" to Archbishop Fitz Ralph of Armagh. What has struck me most is the fact that not a single description of the Avignon library has any trace of the Archbishop's famous

"*Defensorium Curatorum.*" In the last part of the work F. Erhle brings out the history and description of the Papal *Palais* in Avignon, and moreover has attached eight photos. illustrating the several parts of the Palazzo. The whole work, the result of unwearied and painstaking labours, calls for unqualified praise. Let us hope soon to have a publication of the second and absorbing volume.

**Handbook of the Christian Religion ;** for the use of Advanced Students and the Educated Laity. By REV. W. WILMERS, S.J. From the German. Edited by REV. JAMES CONWAY, S.J., Canisius College, Buffalo, N.Y. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1891. (\$1.50 net).

HERE is a book which may be cordially recommended. It gives, in idiomatic English and in sufficient detail for popular purposes, an exposition of Catholic, apologetic, dogmatic, and moral theology. Such a work will prove very useful, surely, in higher schools whether of boys or girls, in convent or college, and at home among intelligent Catholics. We feel persuaded, too, that—manuals of technical theology notwithstanding—many a priest will often find it useful, not only to put into other hands, but to turn over betimes in his own as a suggestive help in preparing vernacular expositions of the Church's teaching. It is, in fact, a compend of theology taken from a standard German manual of half a century's reputation, and put into readable English, with curtailments and additions to meet the demands of English and American readers. Some of the added pages are so far "up to date" that they set forth approved doctrine on the rights of private property to the minds of recent Encyclicals. The book is issued with the usual permission of Jesuit superiors, and bears the imprimatur of the Archbishop of New York. we feel, therefore, that in a brief notice we shall best recommend it by informing our readers of the nature of its contents and the manner in which the topics it discusses are treated. "Truth of the Catholic Religion," "Christian Dogma," and "Christian Moral" are the three parts into which the work is divided, and in each of the parts the general nature of the proofs urged is respectively philosophical, theological, and ethical. As sub-divisions of the first part we have a section in Revelations, with chapters on Revelation in general, on pre-Christian (Primitive, Patriarchal, and Mosiac) and Christian, the last-named a full apologetic treatment of the divine

claim of Our Lord and his religion ; then a section on the Church, as the dispenser of this religion, with chapters on its institution (philosophically dealt with), its end (a valuable chapter), its constitution (under which is treated the Primacy of St. Peter and his successors), its "marks" and its teaching (under which last we have a very able treatment of the Church's teaching, office, and infallibility), and the sources of her teaching, viz., scripture and tradition, and the very important question of the Rule of Faith. The second part is divided into two sections. The first treats on "God, the author and restorer of our salvation," and has chapters on the existence and nature, unity, and attributes of God ; on God as the Creator (with clear explanation of creation, pantheism, &c.) of the spiritual world (angels, good and bad), and the material world, especially man. The treatment of man's origin is sufficiently full, and embraces the question of the unity of the human race, the meaning of "God's image and likeness," original sin, &c. Another chapter follows on the Redeemer, and is a compact English christology. The other section of the second part treats on the realisation of the plan of salvation in individuals, and embraces chapters on Grace ; on the Sacraments (nearly a hundred pages being devoted to a useful *exposé* of the institution, nature, grace, conditions, &c., of each Sacrament); on the necessity of the Church, and on the Last Things. The third section deals with (1) Christian Moral in general (law, as the objective norm of human action ; conscience, as the subjective norm ; freewill, &c., as the condition of morality ; and moral, good and evil ; and (2) Christian moral in particular, under which we have chapters on Duties towards God (Faith, Hope, Charity, Religion, and Worship), towards Self (character of Christian self-love, right of private property, &c.), and towards Neighbours, with a final chapter on Works of Supererogation, or Christian Perfection. It would be impossible to give extracts illustrative of the manner in which the multitude of questions are treated. Each chief statement is succinctly set forth in larger, blacker type, and is followed by the proofs given in support of it—all less important matter, and the numerous passages explanatory of technical terms, of definitions, &c., being marked off in a smaller type than the body of the proof. As to the character of the treatment accorded to the questions, we may say that it is on orthodox lines, but without either acrimony or narrowness, and sufficiently recognising the difficulties now felt, or the various alternative theories which a Catholic is more or less free to hold. This is noteworthy in the explanations of the Creation of both the world and man, and the



necessary references to evolutionary hypotheses. We could have wished that a more direct reference had been made in the treatment of marriage to the position of Catholics to the modern laws of Divorce, though the text, of course, lays down the indissolubility of marriage; and we would suggest for another edition the simplification of references—what can (Symbol-Later) convey to the ordinary reader—and the translation of a text like “Quod Semper, &c.,” of S. Vincent of Lerins. Indeed, a book so good as this is—likely to be the companion in after life of young men and women who learn from it in college—would be the better, we think, for some commendatory references, after the several chapters, to good English works where special subjects could be further studied. Often enough our good literature goes unused, because many who would have recourse to it do not know where to look, or what to choose. It will be noticed how little we have found to criticise in this excellent, beautifully printed, well edited manual of popular theology.

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**An Exposition of the Epistles of S. Paul, and of the Catholic Epistles.** By His Grace the Most Rev. JOHN MACÉVILLY, Archbishop of Tuam. 2 Vols. 4th Edition. Dublin. M. H. Gill & Son. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1891.

THE Archbishop of Tuam's volumes of New Testament Commentary have made their reputation. The history of the appearances of the portion we have now before us indicates that it has supplied a widely felt want. The first edition appeared in 1855, and was exhausted in one year! The elevation of the author to the Episcopate and consequent absorbing duties delayed the second edition: it appeared in 1860. This was, in turn, soon exhausted, and the appearance of a third was again delayed, this time by the author's preparation of his commentary on the Gospels. The third edition, which was published in 1875, consisted of the very large sum of 2,000 copies, and has now in turn been sold out. The one before us is the fourth, it has been carefully revised; and we expect will be as great a success as its predecessor. The Epistles, in fact, are just the portion of the New Testament which a pastor can least successfully expound and explain without the help of the accumulated wisdom of the past. No portion of the New Testament, on the other hand, has been to an equal extent directed to the proof and enforcement of heterodox tenets of every variety. Texts of S. Paul have been bandied about to prove anything and everything.

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And certainly the Saint's drift and meaning is often neither on the surface nor in the extract that quotation may have familiarized. Take, for instance, the Epistles read at the Mass on Sundays throughout the year, not seldom, we venture to say, the preacher would far rather deal with the Gospel. Yet how alternately and enigmatical those epistles sound—sometimes so quaint and far off from our modes of thought as if merely a piece of ecclesiastical archæology, kept up from Catholic Conservatism. Not seldom, however, as we happen to know, intelligent hearers have wished that the pastor would, for once, attack the mysterious epistle rather than once more the more patent lesson of the divine parable. Here is an admirably arranged, highly simplified, guide to the interpretation of both the Pauline and the Catholic Epistles, written in the vernacular by a competent author. Dr. MacEvilly prefaces his exposition of each epistle by an introduction dealing with the authorship, date, occasion, authenticity, and object of it. The commentary on each chapter is preceded by a most useful analysis of its contents, each verse of every chapter stands on one side of a column, on the other side of which is a useful paraphrase, while below are to be found the commentary itself, in turn critical, moral and dogmatical, and sufficient, speaking generally, for most of the exigences of controversy and for the purposes of the pulpit. It will be thus seen that Dr. MacEvilly's work is an English "Triplex Expositio"—analysis, paraphrase, and commentary—only it is more ample, and more modern too, than Piconio's admirable Latin work. Wherever we have looked into these two volumes we have found something to admire. Take at random the learned author's commentary on the difficult fourteenth chapter of the First of Corinthians, where the clear interpretation of the obscure text is followed by a highly useful consideration of its controversial use against the Catholic use of a Latin Liturgy.

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**The Early Church.** By the late DAVID DUFF, Professor of Church History in the United Presbyterian College, Edinburgh. Edited by his son, DAVID DUFF, M.A., B.D. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1891.

**I**T is much to be regretted that David Duff, Sr., did not live to prepare his work for publication. The editor has indeed discharged his duties in a manner which reflects credit on his filial piety and ability. The book itself necessarily retains the fragmentary character of notes for lectures. There is a want of perspec-

ave and finish. Some subjects are treated at length ; others, equally important, are barely touched upon. The great doctrinal controversies and the relations between Christianity and the Roman Power occupy now by far the larger portion of the volume, while there are masterly sketches of St. Ignatius, St. Irenæus, Tertullian, and Origen. An account of the early Church from the pen of a Presbyterian professor cannot, of course, commend itself without reserve to a Catholic reader. What we should look for in such a work, over and above literary merit, would be a fair presentment of such facts and documents as tend to establish the writer's own opinions, together with an honest disposition not to distort or slur over the evidence which tells in favour of opposing views. Judged from this standpoint, D. Duff's labours command our praise. He rightly brings out the force of the arguments for Presbyterianism, but this peculiar tenet of his does not receive undue prominence. On the other hand, he draws attention to the passages of the early Fathers which support Catholic doctrines, and, while endeavouring to minimise their weight, admits the strength of our position. Thus, he quotes the extracts from St. Ignatius in favour of Transubstantiation, and those from St. Irenæus and Tertullian in favour of Tradition and the Roman Primacy. As he is untrammelled by any High Church views on the authority of the Fathers, he is able to fall back upon a line of defence cut off from an Anglican, i. e., to question whether their opinions are decisive.

The doctrine of the person of Christ takes up some sixty pages. The controversies connected with this subject embrace so many important questions—the whole of Christology, the position of the Blessed Virgin, the Roman Primacy—that it may be well to dwell for a little on D. Duff's treatment of them. Nothing could be clearer than the account of the various heresies and their organic connection with each other.

When the divine nature of Christ had been established against the Arians as at an earlier period, His human nature was against the Docetæ, it became necessary also to discuss and settle the question as to the union of the two natures, or, in other words, as to the constitution of Christ's person. In the process of doctrinal development, the transition into the territory of Christology was inevitable. Now, here there were two possible situations, even if the deity and the humanity were both admitted. There might be such a separation of the natures as to conflict with the idea of their existing in one person ; or there might be such a fusion of the natures as, while it did not destroy the idea of a single person, formed at the same time a new nature, neither divine nor human. . . . The two great Oriental schools—the Alexandrian and the Antiochian—while they agreed in rejecting Apollinarianism, followed different directions in their Christology, and out of their conflicting tendencies arose the Nestorian



controversy. The Alexandrian school, holding fast the thoroughness of the union of the two natures, and, at the same time, emphasising its mysteriousness, transferred the predicates of the one nature to the other, sometimes with a justifiable freedom, but sometimes also in a way that not only sounded paradoxical, but was extravagant and dangerous. "God was crucified for us," "Mary brought forth God," Θεοτόκος! such language had been used before this century. As far back as the beginning of the third, Clement had used the words "The God who suffered and is worshipped." We are not to suppose, however, that these modes of expression were confined to the Alexandrine school, but this school delighted and abounded in them. . . . The Antiochian School, on the other hand, while holding the union were more careful to maintain the distinction of the divine and the human in the person of Christ, and some who belonged to this school were altogether opposed to the transference of predicates, and, so far from holding the thoroughness of the union at the birth of Christ, even taught that there was in Him a progressive revelation of the divine corresponding with the ordinary progressive development of human nature (pp. 504-7).

The relations between the two Councils, Ephesus and Chalcedon, are well brought out—how the extreme Antiochians were condemned at the former and the extreme Alexandrines at the latter, and how the moderates triumphed on both occasions. D. Duff does not, however, insist enough upon the dogmatic character of the word Θεοτόκος as the test of Orthodoxy. He calls it a shibboleth, and decries it in comparison with the Ομολογιαι. But surely the two stand on much the same footing, both being imposed by the authority of the Church. One is inclined to pardon him much for his admirable pages on the rank and dignity of the Blessed Virgin. There is little that a Catholic could object to in this Scotch Presbyterian's teaching. If he had only consulted such a book as Denzinger's *Enchiridion*, instead of taking at third hand certain preferred expressions torn from their context and served up cold, he would never have attributed to us the exaggerations which he rightly condemns. He is wrong, however, in assigning to the middle ages the origin of the comparison between Mary and Eve. Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and Tertullian had long before made use of it.

The conduct of the Roman Pontiffs during these controversies is, on the whole fairly stated, considering the writer's point of view. St. Celestine's relations with the discussions at Ephesus are well described; but, of course, we should prefer that greater prominence should be given to the action of St. Leo and his *Epistola Dogmatica* in connection with the later council. One could hardly expect D. Duff to miss the opportunity of having a fling at Vigilius and Honorius. He has made the most of his chance—more, indeed, than he could fairly do. He must surely have been aware that

Catholics have something better to say in their own defence than the lame and impotent answers which he puts into our mouths.

A word of praise must be given to D. Duff for the ease and elegance of his style—and a severe word of blame for so seldom quoting any authorities for his many debateable statements.

T. B. S.

**Explanatio Critica Editionis Breviarii Romani quæ a S. R. Congregatione uti Typica declarata est.** By the Rev. GEORGE SCHÖBER, C.S.S.R. Pustet 1891. (Price 2s. 6d.)

THE title of this work is a guide and an index to its contents. All clerical readers will remember that in 1884 the Sacred Congregation of Rites published a new edition of the Breviary, which not only contained all the new offices issued up to that date, and all the Rubrical changes introduced in the previous year, but was itself issued as a thoroughly revised edition. Hence it became known as the *Editio typica*, and all future editions were to conform to it. The writer of the work has with infinite labour and no less success compared this edition with as many as eighty previous editions, some forty-three of which are modern, from the familiar presses of Mechlin, Tournay, Turin, Paris, Rome, Tours, Ratisbon, the other thirty-seven claiming descent from the Plantinian Press (Antwerp) of the press of Venice, Lyons, Rome, Cologne, &c. Every part of the office has been subjected to a most careful scrutiny the *Proprium de Tempore*, *Proprium Sanctorum*, *Commune Sanctorum*, *Officia pro aliquibus locis*, even the *Psalterium per Hebdomadam dispositum*. The Antiphons, Psalms, Versicles, Responses, Little Chapters, Lessons, Prayers—nothing has been overlooked. Over one thousand variations are pointed out, and the different readings given. One or two examples will convey a clearer idea of the character and value of the work.

In the 8th Antiphon at the Benedictus of the 15th Sunday after Pentecost, we find the words:—"efferebatur filius unicus Matris suæ." Upon this our author remarks:—

*Plerumque veterum editionum Scribunt matris, præter Venet, 1648, et plurimas recentiorum. Sed S. R. C. in editione typica correxit; matris.*

He even considers the very quantities of the syllables—long or short—as far as they may change the meaning. Thus in the VIII. lesson of the same Sunday we are told, in reference to the words:

*Tres autem mortuos invenimus, Inter veteres sola Veneta, 1648, existit, quæ scribit invenimus, reliquæ omnes, etiam recentiores, accentum in penultima syllaba ponunt.*

The place of the asterisk in the different verses of the Psalms is noted and commented upon.

This critical explanation is preceded by an introduction full of interest, which first dwells upon the super excellence of the Divine Office as the continuous public prayer of the Church. He then devotes some seventy pages to a history of the Breviary and of its parts, and concludes with a chapter upon the care displayed by the Popes in keeping the Text uncorrupted. The general rubrics of the Breviary are also printed, several decrees of the Sacred Congregation upon the method of reciting the office are given, and a list of works or authors consulted by the writer or referred to in his Explanation, followed by a general index, brings us to the end of 364 pages of matter which, if not of popular interest, cannot fail to be attractive to the Liturgical student. It will be a safe and valuable referee in all cases where the genuineness of the text is doubted

**Questiones Selectæ ex Theologia Dogmatica.** Auctore Doctore FRANCISCO SCHMID. Paderbornæ, sumptibus et typis Ferdinandi Schæningh, 1891.

**D**R. SCHMID is Professor of Theology in the Episcopal Seminary of Brixen in the Tyrol. He has published, in a volume sent to us by Messrs. Burns and Oates—very badly stitched, by the way,—six essays, in which he treats as many special questions in Dogma. The first is concerned with the power of God. Next, we have a dissertation on the relations of angels to space and time. The third is on the Fire of Hell, and the fourth on Fallen Nature. Questions fifth and sixth treat of Our Lord in His Incarnation, discussing, first, what the Hypostatic Union is, and next the "Weakness" of Christ's human nature. The author writes for students and experts; but his pages are worth reading, not only because they are perfectly orthodox, but also because they treat with learning, sobriety and clearness of a variety of subjects which have a more or less intimate connection with prayer, preaching and the spiritual life. The two treatises on the Angels and on the Fire of Hell, respectively, are not perhaps as successful as the others, although they take up nearly half of the book. The Professor does not seem to be as clear as he might be, either as to the essential nature of a spirit or the true theory of sensation. The schools have discussed for many generations how an angel can be said to be in "place." The most sensible



and satisfactory view, in the opinion of most theologians, is conveyed in the well known dictum of St. Thomas—that the angelic beings can only be said to be in a place because they “operate” or apply their power in a given space; and that, consequently, to pray that the angels may dwell in our habitations is to speak in a totally different sense from that in which we dwell in them ourselves. But Dr. Schmid considers this by no means sufficient. He considers that angels, in the true and real sense of the word, pass from place to place, that they increase or diminish their “distance” from one another in heaven; that neither on corporeal things nor on one another can they act “in distance” (what is distance in the spirit world?)—that an angel can expel corporeal things from the space he occupies, that he may have, in a certain sense, a figure and shape, according to the place which contains him, that this passing from place to place is by no means instantaneous, &c. This kind of view seems to be applicable rather to electricity than to a spirit. We are bound, however, to say that the Professor distinctly holds that an angel is not in a “place” by physical contact. He admits that “operation,” or immediate power to operate, has a great deal to do with localizing an angel, but he also holds and expounds at great length that the proximate and formal realisation of the angelic “ubi” is something “modal” superadded to the angelic essence. This evidently means that an angel is to some extent really “modified” by the superficies of the corporeal thing or organism which he occupies, or by the superficies of the circumjacent things. We should have thought that an angel could be as much affected by corporeal superficies, as, say, time by a coat of paint. As to the fire of hell, he thinks that it has a miraculous power given it by Almighty God, to produce the physical feeling of “heat” in the spirits of the lost. At least this is the way we understand him; and the theory, as he explains it, seems quite irreconcilable with any serious physical science. Indeed, Dr. Schmid seems to consider fire “an element,” just as they did in the middle ages.

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**Cultus SS. Cordis Jesu.** Cum additamento de Cultu parissimi Cordis B.V. Mariæ Scripsit. HERMANNUS JOS. NIX., S.J.  
 Editio Altera Emendata et aucta. Friburgi. Herder, 1891.  
 (2 francs).

WE noticed and recommended the first edition of this work in our issue of July, 1889. The call for a second edition within so short an interval is surely an indication that the work has

supplied a need. Written in Latin, Father Nix's little manual is intended for students of theology and for priests ; and in handy compass it gives the busy priest a sufficient and clear statement of the history, the theological status and the devotional aspects of the now most popular devotion to the Sacred Heart. Twenty-six pages are devoted to a sketch of the growth of the devotion, especially through and since the time of B. Margaret Alacoque. Forty three pages next discuss the meaning and nature of the devotion ; next its object - increased love of the Redeemer and the spirit of expiation - occupy twenty five pages, and the remaining sixty pages deal in three chapters with the various forms of this devotion, its fruits, and the cognate devotion to the Pure Heart of Mary. An appendix gives "Formulæ consecrationis," Method of erecting the Confraternity, and the Rules of the Apostolate of Prayer. This brief summary will show the proportions and character of the book ; its theological accuracy is sufficiently guaranteed by the source from which it comes ; it bears also the *imprimatur*s of the Archbishop of Friburg and the Jesuit Superior. Of its practical character one little indication will be enough to mention. In illustration of his contention that the heart is not an arbitrary, but a natural symbol of love, the author gives in a note quotations from modern writers in German, French, and English. The latter quotation is a very pertinent passage from Carpenter's physiology, given in its original English. An exceedingly useful help this volume will prove for preparing instructions and sermons.

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**Explanatio critica editionis Breviarii Romani, quæ a S. Rituum Congr. uti typica declarata est. Studio et opera Georgii Schober, Congr. ss. Red. sacerdotis Ratis bonæ Pustet. 1891.**

THE recent publication of the typical editions of the Roman breviary, pontificale and Cæremoniale, was mainly due to the unceasing exertions of F. Schober, whom the holy congregation of Rites employed for this noble purpose. Now he brings out a full account of his all but immense labours undertaken for establishing a correct text of the Breviary. In the first part F. Schober traces the history of the breviary, and the main vicissitudes through which it has gone in the course of centuries. The second part opens a view of the critical labours resulting in the new text. Not less than 80 editions were compared, and as to the texts of the lessons derived from the Fathers of the Church, the professedly best editions

were employed. This "apparatus criticus" has a peculiar value, since any further edition of the *Typica* will have to rely on F. Schober's book. The whole work offers a signal proof of the fidelity with which the Church watches the text of her liturgical books. Unfortunately, not a few printers have acted on quite a contrary principle. For the future they are not destitute of what is to be observed in publishing new editions of the Breviary. F. Schober has afforded a full index of liturgical writers. He purposes to present us with similar works on the Pontificale, Missale, and Cereemoniale.

**Sequentiæ ineditæ.** Liturgische Prosen des Mittelalters aus Handschriften und Wiegendrucken. Dritte Folge. HERAUSGEGEBEN VON GUIDO MARIA DREVES, S.F. Leipzig: O. R. Reisland. 1891.

THIS volume, which continues Father Drevés's great work, "*Analista hymnica medu ævi*," which was noticed in DUBLIN REVIEW, July, 1891 (p. 478), is a collection of no less than 437 "*sequentiae*." Not all the pieces in the volume, however, are strictly speaking, "*ineditæ*," but the greater portion of them are, and the rest are to be found only in printed volumes that have become as rare as manuscripts. "*Sequentiæ ineditæ*" is, therefore, not an undeserved title. In northern Germany, where the Reformation destroyed the Catholic religion, the Reformers destroyed also—almost utterly—the liturgical books, of which the very few remaining examples, in public libraries, are of priceless value. And the same is true of France, especially of the southern provinces. The volume before us has also this special recommendation, that it contains one song used by the Crusaders. Father Drevés found it in the town library of Chartres. It begins with:—

Exurgat gens christiana,  
Exurgat et romphea,  
Tuba latet ut insana,  
Vibritur ut lancea.

English and Irish scholars will be pleased to meet with hymns on S. Cuthbert, S. Germanus, S. Fagrine, S. Mildretha, S. Thomas of Canterbury. Still more noteworthy are the seven hymns for the octave of the Feast of S. Laurence O'Toole, the great Archbishop of Dublin, which Father Drevés found in a manuscript Gradual of Eu, preserved at Rouen, and the hymn on S. Catherine, taken from a manuscript missal of Kilmore, now in the possession of Trinity College, Dublin.



**Leonis X. Pontif. Max. Regesta** Fascicul. VII.-VIII. Colligit et edicoept. a Cardinali Hergenroether. Composuit Dr. FRANC. HERGENROETHER. Freiburg: Herder. 1891.

**T**HE previous fasciculi of this learned work were brought before the readers of the DUBLIN REVIEW in October of 1888. Since that time the eminent editor has been taken away by a premature death; and the above parts, prepared by him for the printer, have been brought out by his brother, himself a scholar in ecclesiastical history and an official in the Vatican Archives. The *Regesta* contained in fascicul. VII. and VIII. date from January 1st, A. D. 1515. to October 16th of the same year, and embrace numbers 13468 to 18070. With admirable method the Cardinal here brings within easy reach of scholars a vast number of documents relating to manifold questions of canon law. I may mention the conferring of ecclesiastical benefices, matrimonial causes, restoration of peace between Christian princes, and the reunion of Eastern churches with Rome. More than once King Henry VIII. is summoned to restore peace with Louis XII. of France, and James IV. of Scotland. Archbishop Wolsey is created a Cardinal, and Leo X., in sending him the red hat, carefully points out the mystical sense of this colour. A large number of documents refer to Scotland, and from them we may get glimpses into the condition of Scotch bishoprics and the greediness of nobles attacking the rights of the church. The Pope, too, provided for the better government of the Scotch monastery of Ratisbone, sending thither from Rome John Thomson, and appointing him abbot on condition of taking vows after six months. Let us hope that Father Denifle, the famous rubricist of the holy See, will continue this work, and bring it happily to its end.

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**Compendium sacrarum Ceremoniarum sacerdoti et ministris sacris observandarum in sacro ministerio.** Auctore M. Hansherr, S.J. Editio tertia emendatior. Freiburg: Herder. 1891.

**W**E owe to Father Lehmkuhl this third edition of a manual which gives a clear survey of the rubrics to be observed by priests and assistants at sacred ceremonies. I may say that in my opinion there could scarcely be a more useful introduction to church ceremonies for the young cleric than this. The most recent decrees are used, and there is an excellent index.

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**Compendium theologiæ moralis.** Auctore Augustino Lehmkuhl, S.J. Editio tertia ab auctore recognita. Freiburg : Herder.

**T**HIS excellent handbook has been more than once recommended. We may now point out that the author has inserted the most recent Roman decisions, and has corrected some minor errors of the former editions. Students of theology will prefer the compendium on account of its comprehensiveness and the solidity of its doctrine.

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**The Life of Jesus Christ according to the Gospel History.**  
By Rev. A. J. MAAS, S.J., Professor of Oriental Languages in Woodstock College. Freiburg : Herder. 1891.

**A** MORE appropriate title of this excellent work would be "Harmony of the Gospel Narratives," since our author bases his life of our Lord on a most judicious and suggestive comparison of the four gospels. A mere superficial view in the laborious task convinces us of the great pains taken by the author to make his work as perfect as modern bible science allows.

There is scarcely one author who has laboured in this department, both in ancient and modern times, either amongst Catholics or Protestants, who has not been duly consulted and drawn upon. Let us only adduce the names of acknowledged and reputed scholars as Tischendorf, Friedlieb, Coleridge, Lohmann, Fillion. The narrative is preceded by an introduction commenting on the four gospels and their mutual relations. Being narratives of the same good tidings brought from heaven by our Lord, they supplement each other. The best way for bringing successfully before the reader's mind the life of our Lord is to adopt, and strictly carry out, the principle of chronology. We sincerely congratulate F. Maas for having adopted this course, and brought into easy reach of the student a very clear survey of Christ's life. Whilst the gospel narratives are connected in the text, we are presented with foot notes enlarging on the most agitated biblical topics of the day. Briefly, but exhaustively, the questions are stated and disposed of. A singularly typical example seems to be pp. 443-445, where F. Maas, in a vast amount of learning comments on the day of the last supper of Our Lord. Let us further bring into relief the carefully treated questions connected with biblical geography and the political and religious institutions of the Jews. In grappling with these and similar problems F. Maas is quite up to the standard

of modern science. But far from being stamped with an exclusively scientific character our work meantime tends to kindle devotion. It is for this eminent prerogative that it deserves a strong recommendation. Cardinal Gibbons and the Archbishop of New York have combined with the provincial of the order to praise the work. Lastly we mention three maps representing Palestine in the time of Christ, our Lord's journeys during his public life, and a bird's-eye view of modern Jerusalem from the west side. To priests and educated laymen the perusal of this solid bible commentary will prove a source of solid information and deep consolation.

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**The Chasuble: Its genuine form and size.** By FATHER LOOKHART, B.A., Oxon. London: Burns and Oates.

**T**HIS pamphlet, a reprint, as a note tells us, from the "Irish Ecclesiastical Record," is a crusade against all the spurious forms and sizes of vestments that are found at the present day. The original vestments he shows to have been shaped like a cape, without hood and apophreys, with an opening not in front but in the centre so as to allow it to pass over the head and rest upon the shoulders, falling gracefully to the feet in ample folds. Such a vestment would hang almost square behind, but in front when the arms were unlifted would fall almost to a point.

The modern gothic vestment, although a semi-revival of the original, is condemned because it falls to a point behind as well as in front; the modern Roman chasuble is more strongly condemned because of its shape and diminished size, and is fathered upon the French chasuble of the present day, for which the most scathing rebukes are reserved because of its fiddle shape, its buckram stiffness, its reduced size.

The chasuble which has the highest sanction is the original chasuble, so reduced at the sides as to allow easy action for the arms on which it rests to the extent of a foot below the shoulders, falling well high square and almost to the feet behind, with a cross upon the back. St Charles, at the wish of the Tridentine Fathers, gives exact measurements and shape for this chasuble; he requires a cross in front as well as behind.

*Still as legislation now stands no special shape or size is imperative, and each one can consult his own taste and feelings until the*



voice of authority is heard. Father Lockhart has nevertheless pleaded his cause well ; his principles are : 1st, respect for authority ; 2nd, lavishness not niggardliness in all that approaches God's altar.

**Bernard de Montfaucon et les Bernardins (1715-1750).** Par EMMANUEL DE BROGLIE. 2 tomes. Paris : E. Plon, Nourut et Cie, 1891.

IN two most interesting volumes, which form a sequel to his recent work entitled "*Mabillon et la Société de l'Abbaye de Saint Germain des Prés*" (1664-1707), M. E. de Broglie takes us through the domestic annals of the famous Benedictine Abbey for the first half of the eighteenth century. The grand name which dominates that period is Bernard de Montfaucon, the author of the "*Antiquité Expliquée*" and the editor of St. John Chrysostome ; and the confreres who worked with him — such men as Dom Mopinot, Dom Claude de Vie, Dom Charles de la Rue, and Dom Vincent Thuillier — loved the name of "Bernardines" which was given them by the literary society of Europe. The generation differed in many ways from that of Mabillon. The unity and brilliancy of the "grand age" had been broken up. It was the time of the Regency, of Voltaire and Rousseau, of licentiousness in phrase and deed, and of the Jansenist schism. No figure like that of Mabillon appears on the scene, with his prodigious learning, his strict asceticism, and his sweet and gentle spirit. Yet the Benedictines of St. Germain, even in that generation, were very great men ; great scholars, brilliant writers, and monks of regular and blameless life. Montfaucon was a lively and impetuous Frenchman of the South, an old soldier, who died in his monastery in the year 1741, at the age of 87. The mere list of his works is enough to frighten an ordinary labourer in literature ; an edition of St. Athanasius, an edition of Origen, which cost him twenty-three years' work, St. John Chrysostome in 13 vols. folio, which took another three-and-twenty years to finish, the "*Diasium Italicum*" (a work filled with curious notes on the libraries of Europe), the famous Greek Palæography, which did for Greek MSS, what Mabillon did for Latin, and (to omit many others) the "*Antiquité Expliquée*," in six folio volumes, with five supplementary ones of the same size, which placed him in the first rank among the *savants* of Europe. The industry, acuteness and perseverance of this great antiquarian and scholar have rarely been surpassed in the history of literature. He was surrounded by companions second only to himself.

Montfaucon had never belonged to the party which "appealed" against the Bull *Unigenitus*. Indeed, he did all in his power to open the eyes of those among his brethren who had been unhappily led into error by the Jansenist faction. But the Abbey opened its gates to all sorts of people—Catholics, Jansenists, philosophers, soldiers, diplomats, courtiers, and interesting personalities from every country of Europe.

M. de Broglie has found in the French National archives an immense treasure of correspondence and notes, written by or to the Benedictines, much of which is now published for the first time. We have sketches of his brethren who worked with him. We meet with a number of distinguished Englishmen, such as Bollingbroke, Prior, Archbishop Potter, and Wilkins (of the *Conalia*.) The letters from Rome are full of spirit and wit, giving striking pictures of what went on when Clement XI. and Benedict XIII. were Popes, whilst there are communications with almost every learned man on the continent.

The grace and vivacity of M. de Broglie's style make these volumes delightful reading.

**Xenia Bernardina.** Sancti Bernardi primi Abbatis Claravallensis octavos natales saeculares pia mente celebrantes edideunt antistites et conventus Cistersienses. Provinciae Austriaco—Hungariae. 5 voll. Viennae, 1891.

ON August 20th, eight hundred years had elapsed since S. Bernard, the "doctor mellifluus," was born. The heads of the Austrian Cistercian houses took advantage of this auspicious occasion for testifying their veneration for the great Abbot of Clairvaux in a most solemn way. Hence they brought out five splendid volumes which from their learning and critical method seem to lay claim to general esteem. In the two first volumes we are presented with a critical edition of S. Bernard's "*Sermones de Tempore, de Sanctis et de Diversis*." The learned editors are Father Ganauschek, the eminent author of the capital work, "*Origines Cistercienses*," and Father Gsell, first keeper of the archives in the convent, "Heilig Kreuz" in Vienna. No labour has been spared for publishing this part of St. Bernard's works up to the standard of modern historical method. Not less than twenty-four manuscripts preserved in the Austrian convents of the order were critically sifted, and, what is to be borne in mind, seven of them originate from the twelfth century, the age to which

S. Bernard belongs. The choice of these sermons is fully justified since the Saint delivered them before mixed congregations of clerics and laymen, and from the very subjects commented on they claim interest for wider circles. We cannot refrain from heartily joining in the editor's "Tolle, lege." More than other works of the Saint they breathe the odour of sweetness which pervaded his holy mind. Special mention is claimed by the two sermons on S. Malachy, Archbishop of Armagh, who several times paid visits to Clairvaux, and supported by St. Bernard, there breathed his last on November 2nd, 1148. Volumes second and third exhibit descriptions of the manuscripts preserved in ten Austrian Cistercian abbeys. It is a labour of immense value, whether we view the method adopted by the editors or the time it has cost them. Four years of unwearied exertions were spent on the work, and the latter is undertaken on the principles of modern historical criticism. Not content with the most accurate descriptions of the manuscripts, the editors have provided excellent tables and registers enabling the readers to make the best advantage of them. I may be permitted to urge on the attention of scholars in ecclesiastical history the vast importance of the second volume for Irish Church history. Driven from their native country by the most cruel enactments of the penal laws, *Irish Franciscans* settled in Prague, and took a leading part in the ecclesiastical institutions as professors of philosophy and theology. The lectures of these scholars, as written by their disciples of the Cistercian order, are preserved in the Abbey of Hohenfurt in Bohemia. Let me mention Fathers Feral, Patrick Vardaens, Bonaventure de Burgo, Bonav. O'Kelly, Anthony Murphy, and John Scott. It is interesting to point out that we find here treated the most intricate problems referring to metaphysics and dogmatic theology. The fourth volume exhibits a general survey of the abbots, scholars and artists who lived and worked in these abbeys from their first foundation down to our epoch. These lists impress the reader with a feeling of awe and veneration for those institutions which fortunately have outlived the ravages of the Turks, and the vicissitudes of the ecclesiastical revolution of the sixteenth century, and have bestowed immense benefits on many a generation. The fifth volume exhibiting the most noble proofs of the editor's diligence, learning, and piety illustrates the unexhaustive bibliography of the Cistercian order. No public library can be without these volumes. And for Cistercians it will be an *office de noblesse* to make themselves acquainted with the all but immense treasures collected in this work.

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**Cecilia De Noel.** By LANOE FALCONER. London, Macmillan.  
1891.

THE author of "*Mademoiselle Ixe*" has given us in this volume a psychical study conveying a religious parable, a combination which is obviously outside the lines of criticism applied to an ordinary novel. Lanoe Falconer's peculiar gift lies in a subtle power of suggestion, by which the gravest problems of this life, or the next, are opened up in the midst of airy narrative, seemingly of the iridescent tenacity of a soap bubble. In the present work, which is in point of scale a mere sketch, the old subject of the haunted house is treated under a new aspect, that of the spiritual impressions produced by the supposed ghost on a series of individuals of widely differing temperaments. To each it conveys a soul-harrowing experience, giving a terribly vivid meaning to all the familiar commonplaces of their previous religious teaching, but only to the last does it appeal as an object of intense pity and compassion, extinguishing the sense of selfish terror it inspires in human nature. The closing episode, in which the sympathy of the seer enables her to bridge for a moment the awful barrier of isolation, separating the lost soul from all fellowship with its kind, is powerfully conceived, and, as a realisation of possible spiritual suffering, is perhaps unique in literature. Yet there is throughout an under current of hunted cynicism, suggesting the explanation of the apparition as a phantasy of the seer's brain, predisposed by conversation on the subject, reflecting in its manifestations the temperament and idiosyncrasy of its creator. The secondary characters are sketched in with the same humorous insight as those in "*Mademoiselle Ixe*," and the dialogue is no less felicitously pointed. The sceptic's remarks on modern ghosts may serve as a sample.

If you study the reports of societies that hunt the supernatural, you will find that the latest thing in ghosts is very quiet and commonplace. Rattling chains and blue lights, and even fancy dress, have quite gone out. And the people who see the ghosts are not even startled at first sight; they think that it is a visitor or the man come to wind the clocks. In fact, the *chic* thing for a ghost in these days is to be mistaken for a living person.

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**Notice sur M. Hippolyte Carnot.** Par M. LEFEVRE-PONTALIS.  
Paris : Plon, Nourrit et Cie, 1891.

WHEN Hippolyte Carnot was a young man he was pointed out as the son of the great "organizer of victory." In his old age we have known him as the father of the present president of the French Republic. This sort of inferior and relative honour

may satisfy a woman's ambition "Cornelia, daughter of Scipio and mother of the Gracchi;" but is surely rather a reproach to a man. Hippolyte, however, has some claim to a reputation of his own. In his early days he came under the influence of the Saint Simonians, and even when he left them he retained much of what was good in their teaching, especially their ardent desire to benefit their fellow-men. His long career as member of the various assemblies of the second republic, the empire, and the third republic, was useful rather than brilliant. In 1848 he became prominent for a while as minister of instruction and religion. He said of himself at this time "I have always had religious sentiments too deeply graven in my heart to make me feel any difficulty about deference to the ministers of religion." He rightly boasts that he always observed this, avoiding "petty annoyances as well as persecution, and refusing to stop public processions and to prosecute the clergy." Would that his son could say as much at the present time! Hippolyte Carnot's literary labours, however, are his chief claim to the notice of posterity. His memoirs of Grégoire, the constitutional bishop, his history of the infamous Barère, and, above all, his memoirs of his father, Lazare Carnot, are in many respects meritorious performances and may yet preserve his memory when the name of the present holder of the title of president has long been forgotten.

M. Lefevre Pontalis deserves a word of praise for his admirable address. He has taken care to point out where Carnot's hereditary prejudices led him astray in his opinions. Had this criticism been a little more severe it would have been still more worthy of praise.

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**Essay on the Antiquity and Constitution of Parliaments in Ireland.** By HENRY JOSEPH MONCK MASON, LL.D., and M.R.J.A. A new edition by Very Rev. JOHN CANON O'HANLON. Dublin: Duffy & Co., 1891.

A REISSUE of this able pamphlet by Canon O'Hanlon comes at an opportune moment. It is a valuable addition to the literature on the great question of Irish Home Rule. There exists a tendency in certain quarters to ignore the great fact that Ireland possessed a Parliament entirely independent of the Parliament of England from the very beginning of such institutions down to our own times. The laws passed by the Parliament of England possessed no binding force in Ireland, only so far as the Irish Parliament approved of, or re-enacted them. Poyning's law did not render the

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Irish Parliament subservient to that of England. It simply regulated the method of introducing measures into the Irish House, still leaving to that institution its immemorial and constitutional independence.

Mr. Mason begins by showing that from the first invasion of Ireland by Henry, there existed in Ireland a legislative assembly possessing the usual powers of such a meeting, and maintains his position by extracts from the enactments of Parliament itself. He quotes the statute 2, Richard III. c. 8, in which we have evidence of a purely legislative enactment of primary importance made in Ireland itself, arranging the executive government of that country and co-eval with what is called the conquest of that kingdom.

The conquest of Ireland by Henry II. differed from the conquest of England by the Normans eighty years previous. Henry landed in Ireland to enable one of the Irish provincial kings to retain his throne. The other various independent chieftains submitted voluntarily to Henry's suzerainty, and the work of conquest was concluded by Henry's settling the whole kingdom on his son John, and obtaining the confirmation of the Pope for such procedure. If Richard I. had children to succeed him on the English throne there can be no doubt but that John would have continued to rule Ireland as king, independent of any English control, and that the destinies of both nations would have been different. John's succession to the English crown united the two kingdoms under the one sovereign, but left the constitutional position of each unchanged.

In the subsequent Parliaments held in Ireland we find no trace of a claim to restrict its legislative independence until the reign of Charles I. The Parliament of England, in its contest with the Sovereign, in the reign of that monarch, seeing that Ireland was an independent kingdom, and only united to England by the link of the crown, sought to reduce the Irish Parliament to a subordinate position. They realised that if they defeated Charles in England he had still the independent kingdom and Parliament of Ireland to fall back upon. Charles I. himself, therefore, as we naturally might expect, was a strenuous upholder of the independence of the Parliament of Ireland. In his answer to a deputation of Catholic delegates in 1643 he said, that the Irish were not bound by English statutes without re-enactment in Ireland, "had ever been the notion not only of the people of Ireland but of the King and Commons in England; so that even King Henry VIII. got all the Acts for abolishing the Papal power, and suppressing religious houses, which had passed in England, to be enacted likewise in Ireland, which was the constant practice on the like occasions."



Grattan's great achievement, in 1782, consisted simply in the repeal of Poyning's Act. It was more a measure of simple reform than constitutional change. It left the intrinsic power inherent in the Irish Parliament untouched. It simply deprived the King and Council of the privilege to be the sole originating cause of measures introduced for discussion.

The study of the constitutional position of the Irish Parliament in Ireland is beset with some difficulty. Side by side with it there was another assembly possessing almost the same power, namely, the Great Council. This was an informal species of Parliament convened without the King's writ in cases of sudden emergency. The measures passed by this assembly were known as "ordinances," whereas the measures passed by Parliament were "statutes."

In addition to the Great Council there was also the Privy Council, a body which possessed certain undefined powers, and sometimes acted in a very high-handed fashion.

There were also two other recognised assemblies, possessing however only local jurisdiction, namely, "meetings of the great men and commons of counties;" and "meetings to parly" with inimical ~~chieftains~~.

Mr Mason explains the powers and privileges of each.

The sections dealing with the area covered at various times by Parliamentary jurisdiction will repay careful perusal. The "Pale" was almost constantly changing its boundaries. Outside the "Pale" properly so called, there were still tracts of country in which independent Irish chieftains still acknowledged in a hazy manner the supremacy of Parliamentary law. In some cases these were paid blackmail for their acquiescence in the existing state of things.

Canon O'Hanlon is to be congratulated in giving us this useful little book. We hope that if a new edition is called for he will break up the lengthy introduction into shorter paragraphs and chapters, and that he will even venture to treat Mr. Mason's own work in the same manner. Every one has not the Canon's cast-iron memory, and in our opinion it would greatly facilitate the study of the work if the conventional aids of chapters, headings, and a table of contents were added. We heartily recommend it.

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**Pombal, Sein Charakter und seine Politik**, nach den Berichten der Kaiserlichen gesandten in geheimen Staatsarchiv in Wien. Von B. DUHR, S. F., Filsburg : Ferder, 1891.

PRINTED literature on Pombal, his person and politics, has increased considerably in recent years. The more notable additions to it are (1.) the work which John Smith, private secretary of the Marshal Saldanha, published under the title "Memoirs of the Marquis of Pombal, with extracts from his writings and from despatches in the State Paper Office (London, 1843), (2) the "Quadro elementar das relavões politicas do Portugal" (Lisbon 1842-1876) of the Visconde de Santarem and (3) the "Colleoca dos regocios de Roma no reinado de e Rey Dom José I. (Lisbon 1874). Father Duhr has, however, not confined himself to these, but has utilized the unpublished letters sent by the Austrian Ambassadors in Lisbon to the Court of Vienna from 1750 to 1777. It is to the despatches of Ritter von Lebzelttern, who represented the Emperor from 1768 to 1807 at Lisbon, that he has had most frequent recourse, and they shed fresh light on the mighty minister who really wielded the sceptre of the realm. It might be suspected beforehand that our author's almost exclusive reliance on these documents would bias him as a historian; this fear, however, is at once dissipated when we find this judgment on the Austrian diplomatists, that far from opposing Pombal's tendencies or disapproving his ecclesiastical polity, they prove to have been his admirers, or extremely indulgent critics. Besides this obvious fact we know that Pombal received large support from the dowager Queen, a daughter of Leopold I.

Father Duhr, favourably known by some historical treatises of considerable ability, has done his work in a way to deserve unqualified praise. Far from treating exclusively of questions relating to religion, his work covers the great area of public life, and he shows the disastrous effects of Pombal's autocratic government on every department of administration. It is the decline of his country for which Pombal is made responsible. Students of church history will be interested in the chapters on the "Inquisition," "Education," and "Ecclesiastical Politics." When Clement XIV., in 1770, brought about an agreement with the Portugese government he could not obtain full justice for the church. The Austrian Ambassador's despatches enable us to measure the enormous want of accuracy and even justice, displayed by Father Thinnen in his well-known work on Clement XIV. But above all is prominent in this volume the splendid apology which the documents used by *Father Duhr* constitute for the society of Jesus. Ritter von

Lebzelterern disguised himself and paid visits to some Fathers belonging to the German province, in their terrible dungeons. His descriptions of the sufferings of these innocent religious is heart-rending. This is one of the most splendid pages of ecclesiastical history in the eighteenth century. On May 14th, 1782, the Ambassador announced Pombal's death in the following words: "His last words were to the purport, that as a man he asked pardon of his sins from God, but as Minister he felt no remorse of conscience" (182). Even if these words be true, the reader cannot part quite satisfied with Pombal; for we now possess irrefragable proofs that even as minister of the crown he has not deserved well of his country

BELLESHEIM.

**Plain Sermons on the Fundamental Truths of the Catholic Church.** By the Rev. R. D. BROWNE. London: Burns and Oates, New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. (N.D.)

THE sermons in this volume have this good quality, they are brief. They are also plain, in the laudable sense that straightforward sentences and dignified but simple language make their meaning obvious. They are plain, however, in the sense that there is a wonderful absence of any eloquence, or imagination—in the last respect they are about as colourless as a photograph,—and a young preacher repeating one of them, to save himself trouble, might expect to set his congregation only to sleep sooner than usual. This want of animation in manner, however, does not prevent the matter being good and useful, and readers, as distinguished from hearers, will appreciate them accordingly. We do not understand why the author uses sometimes a version of the sacred text which is not the Vulgate, as e.g. in Sermon xxv., where his text (Phil. ii 10, 11) ends thus: "that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of the Father."

**Freeland: A Social Anticipation.** By Dr. THEODOR HERTZKA. Translated by Arthur Ransom. London: Chatto and Windus, 1891.

DR HERTZKA, the author of this work, is an Austrian writer on economic science. He edits the Viennese review, "*Zeitschrift für Staats und Volkswirtschaft*," as well as the economic department of the "*Neue Freie Presse*." He has pub-



lished several works on the great social problems of the day, and in the original of the volume before us he endeavoured to illustrate his favourite theories by means of a narrative of the foundation and development of a new co-operative colony by a band of European adventurers in the highlands of Eastern Africa. The narrative contains far too much of scientific discussion for the average reader who delights in Rider Haggard. "Freeland" is not so wonderful a place as the kingdom of Kor and the land of King Solomon's mines, but those who are content to find that their story book is really a very didactic kind of nineteenth century Utopia will read "Freeland" with interest. The original was published in 1890. It went through several editions, the popular taste now running in the direction of Utopias, and it has led to the foundation in Austria and Germany of an organisation, known as the International Freeland Society, the object of which is to make an attempt to reduce Dr. Hertzka's theories to practice. A tract of land has actually been acquired by the Society in British East Africa, between Mount Kenia and the coast, and the Freelanders hope soon to occupy it. It seems, however, doubtful whether the British Government will permit the actual of an *imperium in imperio* such as is foreshadowed in Dr. Hertzka's pages. But whatever may be the result of the experiment the fact that it is to be attempted gives a special interest to a work, which thus becomes the prospectus of a new colony rather than a mere treatise on political economy disguised as a novel.

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**Catholiques Allemands.** Par A. KANNENGIESER, Paris.  
Lethielleux, 1892.

**T**HE Abbé Kannengieser, despite his German name, is a Frenchman. His work is a study of the German Catholics in their struggle with Bismarckism during the Kulturkampf, and in their actual efforts to organise the workers of the Fatherland, so as to protect their interests and at the same time preserve them from the Socialist propaganda. The book is thus a study of the present as well as of the past. Its most valuable portions are those in which the Abbé carefully describes the methods of organisation to which the Catholics of Germany owe the position they now hold in the new empire. Next in interest are the word portraits of the German Catholic leaders, from Windthorst downwards. Here in England Catholics in general know very little about the actual position of the Church in Germany, and few of them realise that the Catholics actually form

one-third of the population of the German empire, and have a power and influence even greater than their mere numbers would indicate. The value of the Abbé Kannengieser's work is that it tells us clearly and briefly, yet with sufficient detail, how this splendid position has been won and is being maintained. The lesson which he wishes his own countrymen to draw from it is the old one that St. Augustine gathered from the lives of the saints, "*Si isti, cur non ego?*" Catholics on this side of the channel may with advantage ponder the same lesson.

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**Dictionnaire Général de la Langue Française.** Par MM. ADOLPHE HATZFELD et ARSENE DARMESTETER (Fascicule 4). Paris: Delagrave.

**I**N our last issue we gave well merited praise to the opening parts of this important work. The last part we have received, the fourth, is fully up to the high standard with which the authors set out.

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**Illustrated Bible History of the Old and New Testaments.** For the use of Catholic schools. By Dr. SCHUSTER. New edition carefully improved by several clergymen. Freiburg: Herder. 1891. (Price 1s. 3d.)

**T**HE present edition appears with the approbation of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, and many prelates of the United States, and bears the "imprimatur" of the Archbishop of New York. It is provided with a map, representing on one side Egypt and Canaan with the journey of the Israelites through the desert, and on the other Palestine in the time of Christ; and each chapter closes with a series of examination questions. The pictures are excellent, whilst harder words are spelled and explained in foot-notes.

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**Instructions for First Confession.** From the German of Rev. F. H. JÄNGERS. By a Priest of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia. Second edition. Freiburg: Herder. 1891.

**T**HESE instructions, in the form of question and answer, are specially valuable for solidity of doctrine and simplicity of language. They will prove, as they have done already with many zealous priests, a useful help in preparing children for first confession.

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**How to get on.** By the Rev. BERNARD FEENEY. With preface by the Most Rev. W. H. GROSS, D.D., C.S.S.R., Archbishop of Oregon. New York: Benziger Bros., 1891.

A BOOK of good advice on the general conduct of life, addressed to Catholic young men, by an American priest engaged in educational work. He recognises that it is a good thing for a young man making his start in the world to set out with a definite purpose and an honourable ambition, and he points out the pitfalls that have been the ruin of many, and dwells on the qualities and methods that tend towards securing success, even though they cannot always ensure it. The whole is written in a Catholic spirit, and the advice given is full of manly, practical common sense. Some points have a special application to the state of affairs that exists in America, but as human nature is much the same all the world over, the fact that it is written on the other side of the Atlantic does not make it any the less useful as a book for young men here in old Europe. Indeed with many readers it will be an additional recommendation that the book is written and published in the busy go-ahead country of the Stars and Stripes.

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**The Oxford Movement.** Twelve years. 1833-1845. By R. W. CHURCH, M.A., D.C.L. Some time Dean of St. Paul's. London and New York: Macmillan and Co. 1891.

ALTHOUGH of Oxford and the Oxford Movement, and of Tractarianism and the Tractarian leaders we have lately read much, both to Catholics and Anglicans the times and the events of some fifty years ago are so deeply interesting that it is with no fear of being wearisome that we again recur to them. Moreover, the volume before us differs in an essential particular from the works which have lately directed our attention to Oxford in the second quarter of this century. In Dr. Ward's life, and in the still more recently published volumes of Cardinal Newman's letters, we have the story of the gradual emancipation from early prejudice and ignorance, and the submission to the truth of two very different, but very remarkable men. With Dean Church unfortunately it was otherwise, though for a while he seemed to be travelling along the same road. Like them, he joined eagerly in the early hopes of "Catholicising" the Establishment which animated the first leaders of the Movement, and was led forward to a point at which it appears *all but impossible* that able, clear-headed and sincere men should remain stationary. And it is here that we find the difference between



Church and his above-named friends, which to us remains an unsolved problem—when Newman, Ward, and so many others went forward, and following their principles to a legitimate issue, joined the Church, the Dean did not move onwards. Nor did he recede, as was the case with some, and, suffering a revulsion, fall away from such faith as he possessed. No, he simply remained where he was, content to accept principles whilst denying their foundation, and to allow conclusions of which he ignored the premises. Now, we say, that this problem is all but insoluble, having no wish to assign as the explanation of an undeniable fact, unworthy reasons or interested motives. It may be that, from the first, there existed a fundamental difference between the Tractarians, who eventually became Catholics, and the Tractarians who died Protestants, although both for awhile appeared to be working on the same lines, and to be striving for the same objects; and we believe this to have been the case. The views of Keble and Pusey were never really identical with the principles of Ward and Oakeley, and if through affection for his early friends, and the prejudices of his Evangelical training, Newman was, at the outset, identified with the first-named leaders, as his horizon enlarged and his view became clearer, in his action he was at one with the last-named. Dean Church emphatically belonged to the section of the party represented by Dr. Pusey; and it is well that we should be placed in possession of an account of the important years between 1833 and 1845, which he, and those agreeing with him, consider to be the true version of their story. We can read it with the greater interest, inasmuch as his book is not marred by intemperate language or undue hostility to opinions from which he differs. He naturally considers Newman's conversion as an unfortunate "catastrophe;" but, he shows little bitterness when he discusses his leader's change, nor, at the many others which, occurring at the same time, he owns seriously weakened the party in 1845, or rather, as we should say, practically destroyed it. Indeed, whether knowingly or not we cannot affirm, but occasionally we come across expressions which produce a different effect on us to the one we should suppose a sincere Anglican could desire. Thus, in speaking of Father Dalgairn's position in later years, in the great and really serious religious battlefield of our century, that of faith and unbelief, Dean Church tells us that Father Dalgairn "*with his mind at ease,*" was able to do good service for religion, thereby admitting the advantage of a consistent faith if one would combat scepticism, and the power to be derived from concentrating our attention on a worthy subject, and not allowing it to be dissipated on the

trivialities which usually distract Anglicans from the main subjects of serious religious dispute.

We must, however, now endeavour to place before our readers a sketch of Dean Church's volume, which may be called both historical and biographical. It opens with a picture of the Establishment in the days of political excitement which followed the passing of the first Reform Bill, when Liberalism in its eager triumph, appeared to be casting around to see what further it might destroy, and when the Established Religion appeared to be an easy prey. That there was much to question and condemn in the Anglicanism of those days is undeniable. Dean Church considers that quiet easy-going worldliness was the besetting sin of the clergy, who though often useful members of a village community, were in no way capable of withstanding the criticism to which, in an inquiring age, they must inevitably be exposed, and in whose hands the fortunes of the Establishment were hardly safe. At Oxford two men were already prominent in trying to arouse a more spiritual interest in the Anglican Church, and to force others to realize the importance of a fuller religious life, and larger views of religion than were usual at that date; these were Dr. Arnold and Dr. Whately. Neither of these, however, gained any large following; and it was left to the three men first associated in the Tractarian endeavour to revivify the Church of England, viz. Newman, Keble and Hurrell Froude to accomplish what the other two had failed to perform. As is well known, Newman and Froude were closely united in friendship, and had spent the winter before the commencement of the publication of the Tracts in travelling together in the South of Europe, and Keble willingly joined them in the work. It was not until Newman determined to force on the attention of his generation, and that in a way which could neither be evaded, nor ignored, the great article of the Creed which, though repeated day by day, had been so long unheeded: "I believe in One Catholic and Apostolic Church," that the Movement may be said to have begun; and this determination was the result of the searching of heart and the communion of spirit between these three men. With them were associated others of lesser note, men little known to Catholics, and well-nigh forgotten even by Anglicans—Hugh Rose, Charles Marriott, Isaac Williams, and some few more. These were all fully alive to the necessity of speedy and definite action on the part of the friends of the Establishment, and at first were disposed to strike out somewhat unsystematically in *any and in all directions*, in order to stem the tide of Liberalism. A society was projected, addresses to those in high places were

prepared, and finally the issue of the celebrated Tracts was commenced. On reading of all these plans of defence, we cannot avoid the conclusion that they were inadequate to the occasion. That so much was done, and that so great an interest was created, was due mainly, not so much to largely signed addresses, or even to the extensive reading of the Tracts, as to the still small voice that week after week from the University pulpit of Oxford riveted the rising generation of Englishmen that voice, teaching forgotten truths, and compelling attention by the powerful magnetism of an all but unprecedented personal fascination. That Newman was ably seconded we fully admit ; but as each fresh version of Tractarianism comes before us, more and more fully does it become evident that his was the inspiring influence, and that the main interest of those years at Oxford centres round him. Dean Church dwells at some length on the fact that, even more than by a doctrinal revival, the movement was marked by a strong ethical and moral awakening, and that the principal instrument by which this awakening was effected was Newman's sermons. The Tracts taught the long-forgotten claims of high Anglicanism, their supposed Apostolic succession, the elementary Catholic truths of Baptismal regeneration and the Sacramental system, and touched on the large question of Church authority. These, however, might have remained unfruitful as do so many dry theological treatises, had it not been for the fructifying dew of Newman's sermons, which, each Sunday afternoon, taught their hearers the full meaning and ethical bearing of the Doctrines maintained in the Tracts. "Whilst men were reading and talking about the Tracts, they were hearing the sermons, and in the sermons they heard the living meaning, and reason and bearing of the Tracts, their ethical affinities, their moral standard." Thus, whilst the Tracts occupied men on the intellectual side, the sermons moved their affections and their will, and forced them to bring their whole moral being into sympathy with such teaching. Thus assailed, it is no marvel that the old fashioned indifference and worldliness, both in the Establishment and in the University, were for a while vanquished. Indeed, even to-day, Anglicanism still echoes back the notes of those times, and the sincerity of aim and earnestness in action which were then so perseveringly insisted on, are to be found as the lasting fruit of the Movement amongst High Churchmen.

Space forbids our dwelling on each separate aspect of these years, as painted by Dean Church. We have brief though graphic sketches of the principal writers of the Tracts ; we have their aims and their



successes, their mistakes and their shortcomings all told by a friendly yet a discriminating critic. We read of the growth of the movement, of the new recruits it attracted, and of the changes which soon wrought division in its ranks, and brought the so-called "Roman question" to the front. These changes, indeed, were charged with consequences which were to many sufficiently tragic in their results, and caused many actors in a Movement, which had begun as a brave effort to save the Church of England, soon to question whether she was worthy of being saved, whether in truth she was a Church at all. As is well known, whilst this last question was pressing earnest hearts hotly, the authorities on their side were not idle. If men could be driven out of the Establishment by popular clamour and Episcopal coldness and University censure, Newman and his friends had good cause to go. But, as a fact, we cannot but believe that had Newman's early confidence in his Anglican position continued firm, the opposition he encountered would have been as powerless to touch him as is the tide to move a rock. As his own faith in Anglicanism, however, became shaken, he naturally found confirmation for his doubts in the attitude adopted by his own communion towards his teaching. Then followed painful years, painful even to those who, having gained the plenitude of the faith and found the truths tentatively touched on in the Tracts, fully realised in the glory of the Catholic Church, and thus had a source of joy within themselves which even "the parting of friends" could hardly lessen. How sad to those left behind, Dean Church lets us perceive, as he tells the tale of the "great catastrophe" which rent the Establishment in sunder, and, to thinking minds, destroyed the Catholic aspect of the national religion.

That Dean Church refuses to agree in this verdict is not unnatural. He refers us to the good work done by the Tractarian party since 1845 as evidence that the shock did not kill, nor even greatly arrest, the course of the movement. To this we may answer briefly, that in so far as raising the level of religious feeling is concerned, we fully admit that the movement may have worked as successfully and as permanently on High Churchmen as did that of the earlier Evangelical movement on men of a different stamp. But, if Dean Church would have us own that Tractarianism succeeded in proving that the English Establishment is in any sense one with the Catholic Church throughout the world, he must bring evidence of another character, and explain anomalies on which he does not even touch. Till this be done the Tractarian movement will remain simply an interesting phase of Christian life in a body which it found, and which in spite of it continues, outside the Catholic Church.

**A Guide to Greek Tragedy for English Readers.** By LEWIS CAMPBELL, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Greek in the University of St. Andrews. London: Percival & Co.

THIS work, as the author explains, is not a handbook of the Attic Theatre, but an attempt to help the reader to a true appreciation of the masterpieces of the great dramatists that have come down to us, and to understand their scope and spirit. Not of course that a knowledge of such technical points and archaeological details as are necessary for a proper exposition is taken for granted. There are copious references to the best authorities on all points connected with the drama. It goes without saying, in fact, that the writer has a very wide acquaintance with the literature bearing upon it, that he is fully master of his subject and is possessed by it. In spite of all that has been previously written, it is hardly possible to rate a new work like this, by a thoroughly competent hand, too highly, if we think what the Greek Drama is in itself, and what have been its effects upon human culture. There is nothing in the whole range of art so complete and perfect. Each play, whether of Æschylus, Sophocles, or Euripides, is in its own style a finished specimen; and the plays of these three great masters represent to us the Greek Tragic Drama. Admittedly it is at the head of all literary performances as an example of exquisite symmetry of form, of severe, but not overdone proportion. But besides its own transcendent merits we have to consider its influence upon the Drama of succeeding times. Roman Tragedy was a faint echo of that of Greece. It retained no strong hold on the people. Beyond a few fragments its earlier productions are lost. (One proof that its merits were not of an high order.) And we only possess in their entirety the Tragedies ascribed by Quintilian to Seneca the Philosopher. These show very considerable power in some ways, though it is scarcely questioned that they were written to be read rather than acted. But it was from them, not from the Greek plays directly that the lines were taken on which the Italian Drama and then the French was constructed. If the influence of the Greek form is scarcely to be seen in the greater originality and freedom of the Spanish and English Theatre, it cannot be denied that it has cast a spell upon the greatest poetical geniuses of later times. Among those who have attempted either by exact imitation or literal transcription to reproduce Greek Tragedy as far as the modern mould of thought and phraseology will allow are such names as Milton, Goethe, Shelley, Browning. Further, the study of Greek Tragedy is fruitful in quite a different direction viz. in the history of ethics and religion. It is

the great source, and for the most flourishing and expansive period of their history, the only source from which we can learn the real views of a race intellectual, and mentally gifted beyond all others, as to the relations between the supernatural powers and man—how near in spite of an obscene and repulsive mythology they approached to the idea of Supreme righteousness—what appealed to their minds as the most effective sanction of their ingrained sense of right and wrong. On all these matters, as Mr. Campbell says, "the poet must have thought deeply, and his work must be the sincere expression of his thought."

Still, he would not have been so much in advance of his fellow-citizens, and he probably reflected the opinions of the more serious minded Athenians of the day. This, at any rate, not merely from an ethical and religious point of view, but as the key to the right interpretation of Greek Tragedy, with its first impression of hopeless woe, is the most important point under discussion.

The author devotes the first three chapters, all interesting and suggestive, to Tragedy in General, Tragedy Ancient and Modern (in which he speaks briefly, but very sensibly about the famous unities), and the Origin and Growth of Tragedy. Then comes the choice of subjects, which was practically so limited, and the Conditions of Representation. Some of these, for instance, the immense size of the theatre, the make-up of the actor, the Cothurnus with its high heels, and the padding to increase his stature and size—the mask with its speaking-tube, and the consequent slow and measured enunciation, of necessity affected the character of the Drama itself. "Rapidity of movement must have been impossible to one booted with the Cothurnus. . . . ."

Fine shades of facial expression must in any case have been lost in that large space and all attempts at producing such effects must have been impossible with the mask. . . . The Actor's art must have been different from anything known among ourselves. . . . Changes of attitude marking critical points of the action must have been maintained a considerable time, to enable the whole body of spectators to realize them. . . . The Actor was a sort of speaking statue . . . the whole scene bore a majestic resemblance to the marble reliefs with which in later times the stage was adorned much as the Panathenaical procession saw itself reflected in the Parthenon frieze. It by no means follows that the effect produced was mechanical or unnatural. It should rather be said that the expression of sustained passion under these conditions, required an *intensity of realization* such as few even of our greatest actors have



ever attained. . . . As to "looking the part" so far as features were concerned that task was left to the mask modeller, who must have had something of the Statuary's skill." Now this same impression of the "statuesque" is produced by the *reading* of the play. It is a commonplace of criticism admitted by men as dissimilar in genius as De Quincey and Macaulay. "The creations of the great dramatists of Athens," says the latter, in his usual downright and summary style, "produce the effects of magnificent sculpture, conceived by a mighty imagination, polished with the utmost delicacy, embodying ideas of inoffiable majesty and beauty, but cold, pale and rigid, with no bloom on cheek and no speculation in the eye. In all the draperies, the figures and the faces in the lovers and the tyrants, in the Bacchantes and the Furies, there is the same marble chillness and deadness. This of course is the truth to a certain extent, but it is far from being the whole truth.—"Like the kindred arts of dancing, singing and epic recitation Greek Tragedy adhered to certain conventional lines, but within the limits prescribed by tradition it enjoyed greater freedom than any. It has been truly said that under the marble exterior of Greek literature was concealed a soul thrilling with spiritual emotion, and it is not less true that beneath the Greek serenity and brightness lay, thinly veiled, a profound sadness which, as Hegel has said, "knows the hardness of fate, but is not by that knowledge driven out of freedom and measure."... Whatever may have been true of the earlier poets, both Æschylus and Sophocles were yet more profoundly convinced than the Athenians that there were things worth living for, ay, and things one had better die than lose, and this not in some far off mysterious, transcendental sense (though they had their mysticisms), but in a sense which every true Athenian heart could recognise. Which is there among their extant plays that does not affirm the endless worth of home, of country, of religion, of domestic purity, of civic freedom, of faithfulness, of personal honour, of humanity, of piety. The fact is plain that among the Athenians of the early fifth century the higher spirits had an assurance to which their poets sought to give effect, that an essential righteousness lay deep in the divine counsels, and that sin (in the form of injustice) was the prime cause of suffering. They also felt that the essentially noble human being, though he might err and be unfortunate, must in the end be justified. In the gradual and fitful growth of these moral ideas, within the outward form of fatalistic legends lies the chief interest of Greek Tragedy. As he repeats on the next page its morality is only incipient, but is not the less real and deep, and it is

the struggle of morality with fatalism that gives its most abiding charm." Chapter sixth on the Leading Thoughts—Morality and Destiny, and the interpretation of life,—as will be seen from these extracts, is of deep and general interest, and the subject will have a fascination for many an one who has never read nor purposes reading a line of Greek tragedy, either in the original or in a translation. But we have much outrun the limits of a short notice. The succeeding chapters discuss the dialogue and chorus, dramatic construction, characterisation, and all are equally suggestive. The few reliable facts as to the lives of the three masters are given simply, and there is a brief estimate of their individual styles, and of the several plays of the two elder ones that are extant. The concluding chapter, which was apparently delivered in the first instance as an independent lecture, contains an enumeration of the many successful attempts made in recent years to put various Greek tragedies on the stage in Great Britain and the United States. We need scarcely add that the book will fulfil most admirably the end which the author so modestly states in his preface, though it would be an ungracious omission not to allude to his very excellent and scholarly translation of the passages quoted throughout the work, and especially in the chapter entitled "Fragments of Lost Plays."

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## Books Received.

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WE acknowledge the receipt of the following books. On some of them notices have been written, but are unavoidably held over till next quarter, while others have reached us too late for perusal for the present number. *Jesus Christ*, by Father Didon, O.P. 2 vols., Kegan Paul & Co.—*La Théologie Populaire de N. S. Jesus Christ*, Conférences prêchées à Paris par l'Abbé E. Le Camus. Letouzeyet Ané, Paris.—*Der Positivismus von Tode August Comtéz bis auf unsere Tage* (1857-1891). Von Hermann Gruber, S.J. Freiburg im Breisgau. Herder.—*A Guide to Greek Tragedy for English Readers*, by Lewis Campbell. London: Percival & Co.—*Pre-tridentine Doctrine*, a review of the Commentary on the Scriptures of Thomas de Vio, Cardinal of St. Xystus, commonly called Cardinal Cajetan. By Robert C. Jenkyns, M.A. David Nutt,

London.—*Declarations and Letters on the Vatican Decrees*, (1869-1887) By Ignaz von Dollinger: authorised translation. T. & T. Clark, 1891. — *Etudes Religieuses*, Sept., Oct., Nov., 1891.—*Gertrude Mannering*, a tale of Sacrifice. By Frances Noble, 4th edit. Art and Book Company.—*A Wasted Life and Murr'd*. By Lady Gertrude Stock. Hurst and Blackett, 1892.—*The place of authority in Matters of Religious Belief*. By Vincent Henry Stanton D.D., Longmans, Green & Co.—*St. Mary's Seminary and St. Sulpice, Baltimore*. Memorial volume of the Centenary. John Murphy, Baltimore. — *The Industrial and Commercial History of England* (Lectures delivered to the University of Oxford). By the late James E. Thorold Rogers, edited by his son. F. Unwin, London. A standard work of the highest value to those interested in social and economic questions, and full of research.—*The History of the Popes from the close of the Middle Ages*, drawn from the secret archives of the Vatican and other original sources. From the German of Dr. Ludwig Pastor, edited by F. J. Antrobus, of the Oratory, 2 vols. J. Hodges, London. We shall review this great work later on at length. It remakes history for the period with which it deals, i.e. from 1305 to 1458. It hides nothing, tells of the sins of the saints, as the Bible does, and boldly follows the command of Leo XIII., to write history according to its facts, without fear or concealment. It is a work palpitating with interest.—*St. John and the Cross, His Life and Works*. By David Lewis, M.A. Two vols. second edition, revised. Thos. Baker, London. A splendid edition of these invaluable works; excellent type and paper, and most readable.—*Triplex Expositio Epistolæ ad Romanos*. R. P. Bernardini a Piconio, adusum studiosorum et Sacerdotum emendata per P.M. Hetzenauer a Zell prope Kufstein. Oeniponte, 1891.—*Social and Present-day Questions*. By F. W. Farrar, D.D. Hodder and Stoughton. — *The Apology of the Christian Religion*. By James Macgregor, D.D. T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh. — *Ireland and St. Patrick*. By W. B. Morris, of the Oratory of St. Philip, Neri. Burns and Oates, London. A fascinating book, to which we shall return with pleasure.—*Meditations on the principal Truths of Religion, and on the hidden and public life of our Lord Jesus Christ*. By the Most Rev. Dr. Kirby, Archbishop of Ephesus. Gill & Son, Dublin. A work breathing piety, enriched with copious learning from the Scriptures and the Fathers, and thoroughly practical. It was written for the Irish Seminarists in Rome, and it will be found to contain treasures of instruction for English speaking Seminarists, and for Priests.



wherever they are.—*The Gospel History in the words of the Evangelists.* By J. G. Wenham, St. Anselm's Society. An excellent handbook for schools.—*Little Book of Instruction for Christian Mothers.* Pustet & Co.—*Irish Varieties.* By J. J. Kelly and J. P. O'Byrne. Dublin: A. B. Harrison & Co.; London: Hansard Publishing Co.—*Der Masorahstext des Koheleth.* Von Sebastian Euringer. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichsen.—*Political Economy.* By Liberator, translated by Edward H. Dering. London: Art and Book Company.—*Stories told to a Child.* By Franz Vacher. London: Simpkins and Marshall.—*Bishop Wilberforce.* By G. W. Daniell. London: Methuen & Co.—*Simplicity in Prayer.* Benziger Bros., and Burns and Oates.—*Meditations for Holy Communion.* By Mariana Monteiro. R. Washbourne.—*Hunolt's Sermons*, vol. vii. and viii. (The Good Christian). Benziger Bros., and Burns and Oates.—*Le Socialisme.* Par R. P. Victor Cathrein, S.J., translated from German. Bruxelles: Société Belge de Librairie.—*La Vie et l'Hérédité.* Par P. Vallet, Prêtre de S. Sulpice. Paris: V. Retau & Fils.—*The Early History of Cardinal Newman.* By F. W. Newman. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.—*The Lord's Supper and the Passover Ritual* (Professor Bickell's "*Messe und Pascha.*") By W. F. Skene; Edinburgh: T. T. Clark.—*Brand.* By Henrik Ibsen, translated by W. Wilson. London, Methuen & Co.—*Latin Grammar and First, Second, and Third Latin Readers.* By E. A. Sonneschein, M.A. London: Swan, Sonneschein, & Co.—*The New Rector.* By Stanley I. Weyman. London: Smith, Elder, & Co.—*Etudes de Théologie Positive sur la Sainte Trinité.* Par Theo. de Regnan, S.J. Paris: V. Retaux & Fils.—*Vie de Mgr de Forbin-Janson.* Par le R. P. Philpin de Rivière. Paris: J. Leday & Cie.—*A popular handbook on the origin, structure, and history of Liturgies.* By J. Comper. First Part: Grane & Son, Edinburgh.—*Of Joyous Gard.* By Aelian Prince. E. W. Allen, London.—*The Correct Thing.* By Lelia Hardin Bugg. Benzinger, N. York.—*Birthday Souvenir or Diary.* By Mr. A. E. Buchanan. Benzinger.—*The Happiness of Heaven.* By F. J. Boudreaux, S.J., 6th edition. Burns & Oates.—*Little Meditations for Holy Communion.* By M. Monteiro. Washbourne.—*The Heir of Liscarragh.* By Victor O'D. Power. Art and Book Company.—*Tom Playfair, or Making a Start.* By Francis J. Fenn, S.J. Benzinger.—*Continuity or Collapse?* Edited by J. B. Mackinlay, O.S.B. Art and Book Company.



THE  
DUBLIN REVIEW.

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APRIL, 1892.

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ENGLAND'S DEVOTION TO ST. PETER  
DURING A THOUSAND YEARS.\*

3—THE ENGLISH SCHOOL IN ROME.

**H**OW thoroughly Roman was the Catholic Church in England from the earliest period is apparent from the foundation of the Angle-School, or the School of the Anglo-Saxons close to the Shrine of St. Peter, in the suburbs of Rome. Whether this celebrated school owes its origin to King Ine, or to King Offa, as Matthew Paris, Roger of Wendover, and others suppose, or conjointly, as seems more probable, and as Cardinal Garampi believes, to the Popes and to the English, is not absolutely certain. But this we know, that in the 8th century the inhabited part of Rome was at a considerable distance from the Vatican Hill and St. Peter's, and that, whereas other nationalities established themselves nearer to the Lateran, the Anglo-Saxons delighted to gather together as near as they could to the place sanctified by the Body of the Apostle. They sought to be near that Body which had drawn them so powerfully away from all the ties of home. On the vacant space, then, between the Mausoleum of Hadrian, now called the Castle of Sant' Angelo, the Tiber, and St. Peter's, there sprung up by degrees a mass of buildings, which was variously called the Saxon Borgo, the Saxon Street,

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\*Continued from the January Number, 1892.

[No. 2 of Fourth Series.]

St. Peter's Borgo, and later on the Leonine City, in consequence of St. Leo IV. having re-built and surrounded the whole with a strong high wall, as a protection against the Saracens who had pillaged St. Peter's, and had even quartered their horses within the sacred Basilica.\* Here our devout Anglo-Saxon pilgrim ancestors used to congregate in large numbers, and as many of them were ill provided with worldly goods, they were constantly an object of charity, in their poverty and sufferings, to the Popes. Anastasius mentions that the Pontiffs were then living at the Lateran, and that among others Pope St. Zachary, in the middle of the eighth century, was in the habit of sending frequent supplies of food from the Lateran to the poor pilgrims who had congregated in the quarter near St. Peter's. In those days there were, of course, no inns and hotels as at present. But provision was made for pilgrims, for, besides the monastic institutions, the Deacons in different parts of the City used to look after the interest of Christian strangers, and to undertake all necessary works of charity for them. Among the latter were, of course, spiritual works of mercy. Each Deaconry, therefore, had a church of its own for the purpose. The only survival of this state of things now is the existence of the seven Cardinal Deacons of the Sacred College, and the work carried on by the Institute of the Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini.

Here, then, near St. Peter's, flocked the Anglo-Saxon pilgrims for centuries, for purposes not only of devotion but also of learning. Here arose, on the site now occupied by the Hospital of S. Spirito the *Schola Sacerum*, *Schola Anglorum*, *Schola Saxonum*, as it was differently styled in the Papal Bulls. Matthew Paris, in his *Chronicles*, points out the distinct

\*Anastasius Bibliothecarius speaks of the destruction by fire of "omnem Anglorum habitationem, quae hinc in communem Burgum dicebatur." The "Vicus Saxonum" was the street running at present between the Church of S. Spirito and the Monte; and the gateway in the wall, built by Leo IV. about 850, near the English School, was called the "Postera Saxonum." Later on writers, such as Geoffrey de Brul, in his *Chronicles*, speak of this quarter as the Burgum Sancti Petri. The learned Cardinal Garampi maintains that the name Burgum or Borgo was derived from the pure Anglo-Saxon word *Burh* that our pilgrim ancestors were so numerous and important as to have imposed this word of their own idiom upon the locality. But this can hardly be maintained in face of the fact put forward by more recent critics, viz., that the word is common to all the Romance languages and is identical with the Latin word *Burgus*, which St. Isidore of Seville about A.D. 600 defined as "donorum congregatio, quae muro non clauditur."



object for which this school was established. He says, "The Angle-Saxon school was founded in Rome, in order that the kings of England and their race, as well as English bishops, priests and students, might resort thither to be instructed in the doctrines of the Catholic faith, lest anything faulty or contrary to the Catholic faith might grow up in the English Church, so that they might return to their own country, confirmed in a strong enduring faith." Roger of Wendover gives much the same account with an additional reason for the foundation of the Angle-School in Rome, viz., that the Popes from the time of St. Augustine had discouraged the establishment of such schools in England, on account of the continual heresies which followed the advent of the English into Britain through the intermixture with, and the influence of, pagan customs. The foundation, therefore of a school, seated in the very centre of faith and orthodoxy, became a matter of the highest importance for the Church in England, and its establishment was promoted alike by the Anglo-Saxon Kings and by the Roman Pontiffs.

In time the support of this school became a national affair. It was more than once made the occasion by the Kings for enforcing the payment of Peter-pence, a portion of which was devoted to its maintenance. The school, with the appointment of its Priests and Directors or Masters, was placed under the jurisdiction of the Vatican Basilica, the creation of the Archpriest or Rector alone being reserved to the Sovereign Pontiff.\* Indeed all churches and buildings in the neighbourhood of the Vatican were subject to the jurisdiction and oversight of the Vatican Chapter. Thus the little church and cemetery called the *Chiesa del Salvatore* belonged to St. Peter's, and was founded by the Popes for the burial of all pilgrims to Rome dying in that neighbourhood. It possessed another right, under the jurisdiction of St. Peter's that of providing lodging and a public market for the pilgrims within the Leonine City, and in return certain dues were paid to it by the pilgrims resident in the district, and the goods of those who died intestate or without children, which by the old Roman Civil Law were forfeited to the State, went to the Church of the

\* See *Baronius's Documenta ecclesiastica*, and *Bullar. Vat. C. A.*, pp. 23, 25.

Saviour, and therefore indirectly to the Vatican Basilica. Besides the dues paid by the English School to the Vatican in return for pastoral care and material aid, when needed, the school was subject, like all other institutions, to the State taxes levied by the Popes as Sovereigns of Rome. From these Pope Marinus, A.D. 883, on the petition of King Ælfred, freed the English School, and we read that King Canute, on his visit to Rome A.D. 1027, obtained an entire exemption for the Anglo-School from the payment of all State tribute and tax to Pope John XIX.

The school, in course of years, suffered many vicissitudes, not without the fault apparently of our own countrymen.

In A.D. 817 (Anastasius Bibliothecarius tells us), through the malice of the devil and the negligence of some of the English nation, the school of the English was consumed by fire. Whatever may have been the origin of the fire or the negligence of the English, the whole of their buildings were so utterly consumed that no portion of them remained. And, moreover, by the progress of the flames the gallery which from thence led to the church of St. Peter was destroyed. The Holy Pope Paschal perceiving this about the beginning of the night, out of reverence to St. Peter, and compassion for the English in their misfortune, ran barefoot without any delay to the place. And so great mercy did God show to him, that as soon as he arrived, the flames lost power to proceed beyond the place where he stood, but by his prayers and the assistance of the people present they were immediately quenched. And then to prevent the rekindling of the fire the Holy Pope would not move from the place where he stood during the whole night till morning had dawned.

In comunisation likewise of the poverty of the English, brought on them by the devil's fraud and their own sloth, he bestowed such liberal gifts on them in silver and gold, in clothes and food, that they scarcely felt their loss at all. And not content with this, he made provision of timber and rebuilt their habitation as it had been before. The gallery to St. Peter he also repaired, and made it finer and stronger than it had been before.

Thirty years later, as under Pope Paschal, so now under Pope St. Leo IV the English School, and with it nearly the whole of the buildings in that quarter, were again destroyed by fire. It was then that Pope Leo undertook the great work of rebuilding the district and surrounding it with a high wall. But eight years after the conflagration the

\* See Anast. Bib. in Paschal; and Cressy's Church History, p. 699  
Edit. 1668.

English School and Hospital still lay buried in their ashes, when King Æthelwulf went to Rome as a pilgrim in great state, and spent a whole year in the Holy City. He rebuilt the English School and enlarged it, and gave to it a more imposing appearance than it had possessed before. It continued to be supported by money from England.\*

During the whole of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries frequent and honourable mention was made of the English School. But after that down to the time of Innocent III. all is darkness and obscurity. The long dissension that arose between the Papacy and the Empire, and which brought so many temporal sufferings upon Rome, broke up the continuous line of pilgrims. The school collapsed. Then came the Crusades, which drew the devotion of pilgrims towards the holy places in Palestine. The Leonine City itself was sacked and burnt by Henry IV. in 1084, by Henry V. in 1110, and by Frederick I. in 1167, so that the Angle-School was completely ruined, nothing remaining but its site and the little church, which had always belonged to it, dedicated to Blessed Mary the Holy Mother of God, with a few chaplains who continued to serve it.†

Innocent III., towards the close of the 12th century, converted the site into the great *Hospitale Sanctæ Mariæ in Saxia*, later on called *Sancti Spiritus in Saxia, prope Ecclesiam Sanctæ Mariæ in Saxia*.‡

Finally, after the lapse of three centuries, the urgent need of an English School in Rome again arose, and Gregory XIII. and Cardinal Allen turning a modern English Hospice for

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\* We see from a letter of Pope Alexander II. to King William the Conqueror that part of Peter-pence used to be devoted to the English School. "Nam ut bene nosti, donec Angli fideles erant, pia devotionis respectu ad cognitionem religionis annualem pensionem apostolicæ sedis exhibebant. Ex qua pars Romano Pontifici, pars ecclesiæ Sanctæ Mariæ, quæ vocatur schola Anglorum, in usum fratrum deferebatur."

† See the Bull of Innocent III., A.D. 1198.

‡ "Innocentius III. papa hoc anno constituit domum hospitalem in urbe Roma, quam Hospitale Sancti Spiritus appellari fecit, in loco ubi quondam peregrinantibus de Anglia domicilium erat ædificatum et Anglorum Schola dictum, eamque ditavit opibus et redditibus et, ne quid ei deesset, misit predicatores cum literis suis tam per Angliam quam per alias terras, ut ex largitione divitum et donatione mediocrum magis ac magis ad omnem copiam abundaret."—(From the Annals of Waverley, A.D. 1213.)



pilgrims into a College, the work of the old Anglo-Saxon School was again taken up and renewed. The need of it had become as imperative, in consequence of the rise of heresy in England, as when the Angles were endangering the purity of the Roman Faith in England by their tendency to religious error. Forty students from the English College in Rome have laid down their lives for the Faith in England as Martyrs, and during the last three centuries a continuous stream of Confessors has flowed to England from Rome, "lest anything faulty or contrary to the Catholic Faith might grow up in the English Church." Thus it is true to say that the venerable English College in Rome to-day is heir to the spirit and intentions which established and animated the Anglo-Saxon School in the Borgo a thousand years ago. There can be no doubt whatever but that the love of Blessed Peter and of his Faith, and submission to his Jurisdiction, are wonderfully promoted by living within the shadow of his Shrine and by constant contact with his See. This has been the constant experience of Catholic England for now nigh twelve hundred years.

#### 4.—PUBLIC LAW ON PETER-PENCE.

Nothing witnesses more strikingly to the national faith and to the ancient love and reverence of England for Blessed Peter than that institution of purely English origin, called at different times and places smoke-penny, hearth-penny, fire-penny, Rom-feoh, Romescot, and Peter penny.\*

Lingard attributes the origin of Peter-pence to the very same reasons as those which led to its revival thirty years ago, namely, religious love and loyalty springing forth to supply necessities of the See of Peter.

"Rome," he says, "was the chief object of Anglo-Saxon liberality. The imperial city was no longer the mistress of the world. More than once she had been sacked by the barbarians: the provinces from which she formerly drew her subsistence, had submitted to their arms, her walls were insulted by the frequent inroads of the Saracens; and the Popes, with the numerous people dependent on their paternal authority,

\* The three first names indicate that the tax was laid on the house or family; the three last that it was a fee, tax, or pecuniary sum paid to Rome in honour of St. Peter.

were frequently reduced to the lowest distress. By the Saxon princes, the affection which St. Gregory the Great had testified for their fathers, was gratefully remembered. They esteemed it a disgrace that the head of their religion should suffer the inconveniences of want, and each succeeding king was careful, by valuable donations, to demonstrate his veneration for the successor of St. Peter, and to contribute a portion of his wealth to support the government of the universal church.\*

As to the precise date of the institution of Peter-pence, it is impossible to speak with certainty. It is easier to point to its growth than to its birth. Historical criticism has thrown grave doubt upon, if it has not exploded, the belief which long prevailed, that it was established by King Ine of Wessex. Nothing is said of Peter-pence in Ine's laws, nor by Bede who records his abdication and his pilgrimage to Rome. The learned Cardinal Garampi who was Prefect of the Secret Archivium of the Vatican in the middle of last century, is of opinion that it may be traced to Offa, King of Mercia. This sovereign having miraculously discovered the body of St. Alban, Britain's proto-martyr, on the festival of St. Peter's Chains, built a splendid monastery on the old Watling Road called it by the name of Alban, and obtained special privileges for it from Pope Adrian I. in 793. In gratitude to St. Peter and the Holy See, the King then imposed an annual tax upon every family in his kingdom, to be paid to Rome. Garampi sees collateral evidence in the facts narrated by the various historians of St. Alban's Abbey, namely that this was the only abbey in England exempted from the payment of Peter-pence, and that the day fixed, from the earliest time throughout the kingdom, for its general payment was the feast of St. Peter's Chains—that is, the day on which the body of St. Alban was miraculously discovered. There is no doubt but that Offa gave money to the successor of St. Peter and to the Angle-School in Rome. He fixed the amount at 365 mancuses, one to represent each day of the year—and Polydore Virgil† speaks of this tribute in connection with the King's doubtful visit to Rome, after he had repented of his treacherous murder of St. Ethelberht, King of the East Angles, in 792, and his consequent seizure of the East

\* Hist. of the Anglo-Saxon Church, vol. i., pp. 270-280.

† Anglo-Sax. Hist. lib. iv., p. 74, ed. Basil, 1570.

Anglian kingdom. The institution of an annual payment to Rome by Offa is abundantly clear from the apostolic letter of St. Leo III to Kenulf, Offa's second successor in the kingdom of Mercia. Writing in 798, the Holy Father speaks of Offa's devotion to St. Peter, and says, "Votum vovit eidem Dei apostolo beato Petro clavigero regni celorum, ut per unumquemque annum scilicet quantos dies annus habuerit tantos mancusas eidem Dei apostolo Ecclesie nimirum cccclxx. pro alimonia pauperum et luminariorum concinnatione emittere quod et fecit\*"

Others, however, believe that this tribute of Peter-pence to the Holy See took its permanent form in the time of Æthelwulf, King of the West Saxons, who, as has been already said, spent the year 855 as a pilgrim in Rome. Upon his return he laid his kingdom under a contribution of 300 mancuses† to be paid annually to the Holy See one third for the Basilica of St. Peter, one third for that of St. Paul, and a third to be used at the Pope's discretion. Though it be impossible to say at what particular date this English devotion consolidated into an annual and legal charge upon the country, it may be considered as certain that this form of devotion was in some way practised by our ancestors at least as early as the time of St. Gregory II. (715-731) who was Pope when Ine visited Rome. Indeed generosity of this kind had probably been practised in some informal or casual manner in the preceding century. At the time of the Henician Schism both those who lamented the cessation of the payment to the Holy See, and those who rejoiced in the rejection of the authority of the Pope, speak of the institution of Peter-pence as having existed in England for the long period of 800 years.

The *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* which was first gathered into a connected narrative in the 9th century, probably in the reign of King Ælfred, bears ample testimony to the Anglo-Saxon habit of sending support to the Holy See, as may be seen by the several following entries.

\* Haddan and Stubbs's Councils, vol. iii., p. 525.

† A mancusa was equal to 30 silver pence of the period. A penny was equal to about 3d. of our present money in purchasing power, before the Norman Conquest; intrinsically it was then worth about 3d. or to day



“ In the same year [888] Sighelm and Æthelstan conveyed to Rome the alms which the King [Ælfred] had vowed [to send] thither, and also to India to St. Thomas, and to St. Bartholomew, when they sat down against the army [i.e. the Danish host] at London; and there, God be thanked, their prayer was very successful, after that vow.

And in the same year [885] the good Pope Marinus died, who freed the Angle race's school, at the prayer of Ælfred, King of the West Saxons; and he sent him great gifts, and part of the wood on which Christ suffered.

And the same year [887] that the army [the Danish host] went forth up over the bridge at Paris the Ealdorman Æthelhelm conveyed the alms of the West Saxons and of King Ælfred to Rome.

Ann. 888. In this year the Ealdorman Becca conveyed the alms of the West Saxons and of King Ælfred to Rome.

Ann. 889. In this year there was no journey to Rome, except that King Ælfred sent two couriers with letters.

Ann. 890. In this year the Abbot Beornhelm conveyed the alms of the West Saxons and of King Ælfred to Rome.

By the commencement of the tenth century the obligation to pay Peter-pence had become part and parcel of the public law of England.

The following extracts from the ancient laws of this country will show—(1) Who were bound to pay the Peter-pence, (2) the amount to be levied, (3) the persons by whom, and the time at which, the Peter-pence were to be gathered, and (4) the penalties and fines for refusal of payment:—

If any one withhold tithes, let him pay *lah-slit* among the Danes, *wite* among the English. If any one withhold *Rom-feoh*,\* let him pay *lah-slit* among the Danes, *wite* among the English.†

And let every hearth-penny be rendered by Peter-Massday,‡ and he who shall not have paid it by that term, let him take it to Rome, and in addition thereto 30 pence, and bring then a certificate thence, that he had there rendered so much; and when he comes home, pay to the king 120 shillings. And if again he will not pay it, let him take it again to Rome, and with another such *bot*; and when he comes home, pay to the king 200 shillings. And the third time, if he yet will not, let him forfeit all that he owns.§

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\* *Lah-slit* and *wite* mean severally breach of law and legal punishment.  
*Rom-feoh* is Rome fee.

† *Laws of Edward and Guthrum*. Thorpe, vol. i., p. 171.

‡ That is by the Feast of St. Peter's Chains, Aug. 1st.

§ *Laws of Eadgar*. Thorpe, vol. i., 265. The shilling was until Henry VIII.'s time a mere money of account. There was no silver coin struck in England of higher value than a penny, until King Edward III. began the issue of groats, to pass for fourpence. Before the Norman Conquest the English shilling was reckoned at 5d., or the 48th part of a pound; after the

And we enjoin, that the priests remind people of what they ought to do to God for dues, in tithes, and in other things: first, plough alms, 15 days after Easter; and a tithe of young, by Pentecost, and of earth-fruits, by All Saints, and *Rom-feoh*, by Peter-Mass; and church scot, by Martin-Mass.

We will that every Rome-penny be paid by Peter Mass to the episcopal seat; and we will that in every wapentake there be named two true thanes, and one Mass-priest, who shall collect it, and afterwards render it, so that they dare swear to it. If a king's thane, or any *land-rica*, withhold it, let him pay 10 half-marks; half to Christ, half to the king. If any *tunes man* conceal or withhold any penny, let the *land-rica* pay the penny, and take an ox from the man; and if the *land-rica* neglect it, then let Christ and the king take a full *bot* of 12 ores.†

And let *Rom-feoh* be paid every year by Peter's Mass, and let him who will not pay it give in addition 30 pence, and to the King pay 120 shillings.‡

The payment of Peter-pence was laid not upon a few, but upon all, as is clear from the laws of Eadmund and Eadward.

A tithe we enjoin to every Christian man by his Christendom, and church scot, and *Rom-feoh*, and plough-alms. And if any one will not so do, let him be excommunicated.§

And *Rom-feoh* by Peter's Mass; and whoever withholds it over that day, let him pay the penalty to the bishop, and 30 pence thereto, and to the king 120 shillings.,

Every man who shall have live chattels of his own worth 30 pence, in his house, in the law of the English shall give the penny of St. Peter, and in the law of the Danes,\* (if he have chattels worth) half a mark . . . 80

Conquest it was reckoned at 12d., or the 20th part of a pound, in imitation of the French *sol* of 12 deniers, which was itself a mere money of account until the reign of St. Louis. Thus 120 shillings would have meant 720 pence or £3—now equal intrinsically to about £9, and in purchasing power to about £270 of modern money—a tremendous penalty, of which it would be curious to learn if it were ever fully enforced.

\* *Canons enacted under King Eadgar.* Thorpe, ii., 257.

† *Laws of the Northumbrian Priests.* Thorpe, ii., 299.

A *land-rica* was a landlord; a *tunes-man* a tenant or farmer. *Bot* means reparation, whence the word being still current among us in the form of *boot*. The *mark* was a money of account, worth 160 pence or two-thirds of a pound; in Edward III's reign a half mark appeared as an actual coin of gold, under the name of a *noble*. An *ore* was a money of account in the Denalagu, reckoned at 16 pence or one-tenth of a mark.

‡ *Laws of King Ethelred.* Thorpe, i., 343.

§ *Laws of King Eadmund.* Thorpe, i., 245.

*Laws of King Canut.* Thorpe, i., 367.

\* The Danes, who in the ninth and tenth centuries had settled, roughly speaking, in Northumbria, East Anglia, and North east Mercia, had a different coinage to the English, and were governed by their own laws. Their part of England was called the Denalagu, that is, the Dane law.

pence. It is to be demanded on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, and must not be kept back beyond the feast of St. Peter's Chains. If anyone withholds it, the claim shall be brought before the King's Judge, for that penny is the King's due, and the King's Judge shall compel him to render the penny, and the forfeiture to the King and to the Bishop. And if anyone have several houses, he shall pay the penny for the house that he shall dwell in at the feast of SS. Peter and Paul.

The payment of Peter-pence to the Holy See, as a tribute of Faith and Devotion, had taken such possession of England by the time of the Norman Conquest, that William the Conqueror, far from ignoring it as a tribute to which he had not been accustomed in Normandy, recognised the existing laws on Peter-pence and enforced them by new enactments.

The free man, who possesses field cattle of the value of 30 pence, shall give the penny of St. Peter. But the lord shall acquit his cottiers and herdsmen and servants for one penny. The burgess, if he have chattels of his own to the value of half a mark, shall give the penny of St. Peter. In the Dane law, the free man who shall have field cattle to the value of half a mark shall give the penny of St. Peter, and by the lord's penny all who live on his land shall be acquitted. But he who shall withhold the penny of St. Peter shall be compelled to pay it by ecclesiastical censure, and in addition 30 pence as forfeit. And if the case be pleaded before the King's Judge, the King shall have 40 shillings as a forfeit and the Bishop 30 pence.<sup>1</sup>

Henry I legislated in the same sense.

He not less ought to be rendered on the feast of St. Peter's Chains, he who shall withhold it shall pay that penny to the Bishop and shall add to it 30 pence more; and to the King, 50 shillings.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Laws of King Edward the Confessor*. Thorpe, i., 446. It may be well to add for the sake of accuracy that, whereas the former extracts from the old English laws on Peter-pence belong strictly to the Kings to whom they are ascribed, the Latin compilation called the *Laws of Edward the Confessor* is not contemporary with that saintly King, but is simply a *posterior forgery*. The laws of St. Edward were, as says Bishop Stubbs, "recorded by the wise men of the shires under William the Conqueror, and edited by Glanville in the next century, with the legal language assigned to the later period." And in like manner, the *Leges Henrici Primi* which again enforced the payment of Peter-pence, were, to use again the words of Bishop Stubbs, "a collection of legal memoranda and records of custom, gathered together early in the reign of Henry II.

<sup>2</sup> *W. Magna Charta*; Thorpe, i., p. 474. The 40 shillings here referred to were shillings of 12 pence, just the same penalty as the 120 shillings of 5 pence appointed by the laws of Edgar, Æthelred II., and Canut, as above.

<sup>3</sup> *Henry I*; Thorpe, i., 520.



The Apostolic Letters of the Popes to the English Sovereigns, and to their Legates and Bishops, form a history of Peter-pence from the advent of the Normans down to the Anglican Schism. It is unnecessary for the present purpose to quote from them, but mention may be made of some of the Popes whose letters are actually before us, namely, Popes Alexander II., Urban II., Paschal II., Adrian IV., Alexander III., Innocent III., Honorius III., Innocent IV., Clement V., John XXII., Alexander VI., Clement VII., down to Paul IV.

It is not surprising that the history of a tax like Peter-pence should be chequered by many variations and vicissitudes during the long period which elapsed from the advent of the grasping Normans to the climax of greed and iniquity consummated under Henry VIII.

William the Conqueror excused himself to St. Gregory VII. for the negligence that had been shown in transmitting Peter-pence, on the ground that he had been nearly three years absent beyond seas. But, as he was then returning to England, he promised to have the amount due collected at once and transmitted through the Papal Legate, Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury.

Henry II., when fighting with St. Thomas of Canterbury, sent tempting offers by his envoys to Pope Alexander III. He promised that if the Pope would depose the Archbishop, he would largely increase the amount of Peter-pence.\* He would do this by reforming an abuse that had crept in during the last hundred years whereby certain persons had managed to get rid of their obligation to pay Peter-pence. In other words, the King offered as a bribe the restoration of Peter-pence to its ancient footing—a penny yearly from every house or hearth. Needless to say, the bribe was not taken.

It was during a period of great trial both to the Church and to the State that in 1366 the payment of Peter-pence was

\* In secreto domini papae auribus immurmurabant de archiepiscopi depositione, temptantes eum maximis promissis, tandem etiam adjecto quod deinde cum annuam beati Petri, qui nunc a solis scriptis glebae, nec tamen ab omnibus, datur in Anglia, rex faceret et confirmaret in perpetuum, ab omni habitatore terrae, ab omni domo a qua finis exit in urbibus, castris, burgis, et vilis denarij cresceret quidem Romanae Ecclesiae redditus in Anglia annuus, praeter quod modo est, ad mille libras argenti.—From W. Fitzstephen, *Vita S. Thomae*, l. 63. Printed in *Materials for the Hist. of St. Thomas*, ed. J. C. Robertson, vol. iii., p. 74.

suspended for a time by King Edward III. and his Parliament. This high-handed proceeding was provoked by a letter from Pope Urban V., wherein the Holy Father demanded payment of all the arrears of King John's annual pension or tribute of 1,000 marks, which had not been paid for the last thirty-three years. It is a curious fact that, together with this stoppage of the tribute and of the Peter-pence, began the decline of the splendid fortune of King Edward III.

The King commanded that Peter-pence should no more be gathered nor paid to Rome. Saint Peter's pence is the king's almes, and all that hadd thirty penywoorth of goods, of one manner cattell in their house of their owne proper, should give their penny at Lammass. It amounted in all through Englande to 800 markes of silver.\*

There seem to have been many occasions on which selfish human nature asserted itself, and various people sought to escape from the payment of even so small a sum as the Peter-penny. As, for instance, when at one time in certain parts of England the people were satisfied with making a ceremonial offering of a Peter-penny on the Altar instead of sending it to Rome; Pope Alexander II. complained of this abuse and rectified it. Then, no doubt, excessive money exactions and especially the abuse, whereby at one period a large number of benefices were bestowed upon absentee aliens, created a reaction even against Peter-pence; as when the Commons of England in the first Parliament of Richard II., 1377, tried to obtain for themselves an exemption therefrom, petitioning as follows:—

Item suppliant [les dites Cōes], q̃ y puisse estre declaree en cest present Parlement, si la charge de le Denier Seint Piere, appelle Rome-peny, serra leve des dites Cōes, et paie al Collectour ñre Seint Piere le Pape, ou noun. *Resp.* Soit fait come devant ad este usee.†

In fact, had not Peter-pence become part of the law of the land it would no doubt have shared the fate of many sacrifices which men undertake in a spirit of faith and piety, but from which they fall away when left to their own private devotion, and when faith and piety grow cold or lukewarm. We have seen King Canute writing from Rome to remind his English

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\* John Stow's *Annals*, in an. 1365.

† *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. iii., p. 21.

subjects of "what they owe to St. Peter in Rome both from the towns and vills," and so in like manner after the Norman Conquest, both clergy and laity needed from time to time to be reminded of their duty and required the support of public law, which sustained the national conscience.

It would appear that under the earlier Plantagenets a custom grew up whereby the payments due to the Holy See were compounded for a fixed annual sum, amounting to £200 or 300 marks. Pietro Grifi who had been a Papal Collector in England in 1509, in his MS. work *De Officio Collectoris Angliæ*, quoted by Garraupá, says that there were copies of a Bull by Gregory V. dated from Orvieto, giving a practical sanction to this arrangement. Others think that the Bull referred to was one issued by Gregory IX. in 1229. But however that may be, Innocent III., in a letter directed to his envoys in England, in 1214, denied that any such composition had ever been sanctioned by his predecessors, and he urged that a prescription of a hundred years could not be shewn in its favour. But he added that, if the English prelates desired to try the question by an appeal to canon law, they might appeal within a given time and the case should be tried in his presence. It appears, however, that the point was not pressed further by the Holy See, and the custom that had grown up continued to prevail,—£200 being yearly paid to the Pope's Collector, whether the number of English Dioceses was 17 as in the twelfth century, or 22 as they came to be in the middle of the sixteenth century.

From the time of this composition the Dioceses of England were each rated at a fixed sum in Peter pence as may be seen from the Register of Cencio Savelli, Chamberlain of the Roman Church, who succeeded Innocent III. on the Papal Chair, under the title of Honorius III.

The following details may be of interest as showing the amount due from each diocese in the thirteenth century. They are taken *ex Registro Cencii Camerarii*.\*

\* See British Mus. MSS., Abate Marini's Transcripts from the Vatican Archives, vol. v., p. 181.



Peter pence is collected in this manner in England, &c., in the thirteenth century:—

From the Diocese of	£	s.	d.	equivalent in purchasing power to	£	s.	d.	of our present money
Canterbury ..	6	18	0	..	207	0	0	..
Lincoln ..	5	12	0	..	168	0	0	..
London ..	16	10	0	..	495	0	0	..
Nottingham ..	21	10	0	..	645	0	0	..
Exeter ..	5	0	0	..	150	0	0	..
Leicester ..	42	0	0	..	1260	0	0	..
Gloucester ..	8	0	0	..	240	0	0	..
Worcester ..	17	6	8	..	520	0	0	..
Hereford ..	9	5	0	..	277	10	0	..
Wimbor ..	10	5	0	..	307	10	0	..
Hereford ..	6	0	0	..	180	0	0	..
Bath ..	11	5	0	..	337	10	0	..
Salisbury ..	18	0	0	..	540	0	0	..
Exeter ..	10	5	0	..	307	10	0	..
York ..	11	10	0	..	345	0	0	..

\* Total—£190 6 8

† Total..... £5980 0 0

This calculation is at the rate of 1d. to 2s. 6d., others might take a higher rate, and bring the sum total up to £7,000 or £8,000.

It would not be difficult to get at the assessment of the different archdeaconries and parishes from the Registers which are still preserved and from the valuable works of antiquaries. By way of illustration take the Archdeaconry of Richmond, Diocese of York.

\* Peter pence were never paid in the diocese of Carlisle, the territory forming that diocese not having become an integral part of England till after the Norman Conquest, neither was it paid in the Welsh dioceses, nor in the Cumbrian deanery of Copland in York Diocese.

† The present purchasing value of ancient money is open to many considerations, and authorities are by no means in agreement. The author's friend to whom I am indebted for many researches calculates that at the time of the Norman Conquest the penny would be in purchasing power worth about three shillings of 1802, and that therefore the nominal £200 paid each year in Peter pence to Pope Alexander II., or Pope Sirgarius VII., would be worth between £7,000 and £8,000 a year if paid to Pope Leo XIII. Accordingly the lower sum of 2s. 6d. for the penny has been taken in estimating the value of the rating in Census Register, as by the thirteenth century the penny had diminished in purchasing power though the same amount of precious metal was still divided into the same amount of nominal money. The purchasing power of £200 after Henry VIII. had taken the coinage, may be put perhaps at between £3,000 and £4,000 of our present money. Had England continued to be Catholic and to levy a penny upon each inhabited house within the area over which Peter pence was formerly collected, the actual amount of Peter pence, putting aside its present purchasing power, would now sum up to an annual round figure of £10,000.

It was assessed at £47 17s. 7d., more than four times the actual amount paid to the Holy See in the name of the whole diocese, as may be seen by reference to Cencio's Register. This Archdeaconry was subdivided into eight Deaneries, one of which was the Deanery of Amounderness,\* now belonging partly to Salford and partly to Liverpool Diocese. It was assessed at £6 a year for Peter-pence, apportioned parochially as follows:—

			s.	d.				£	s.	d.
Ribchester	...	...	5	4	{ equivalent in purchasing power at }			8	0	0
					present to ... .. }					
Chippinge	...	...	3	0	..	..	..	4	10	0
Preston	...	...	18	4	..	..	..	27	10	0
Lytho	...	...	3	0	..	..	..	4	10	0
Kyrkham	...	...	23	4	..	..	..	35	0	0
St. Michael's (Wyre)	11	4			..	..	..	17	0	0
Garstange	...	...	16	0	..	..	..	24	0	0
Cokerham	...	...	4	4	..	..	..	6	10	0
Loncastre	...	...	23	4	..	..	..	35	0	0
Pulton	...	...	12	0	..	..	..	18	0	0
			£6	0	0	Total†	...	£180	0	0

As to the manner of collecting Peter-pence. In early times it was the Bishop of each diocese who was accountable for the collection, which he paid over to the Papal Collector. The Popes had been in the habit, certainly as early as the twelfth century, as Grifi informs us, of nominating their Legates or Nuncios as Apostolic Collectors or Receivers of Peter-pence and of other Papal dues. In course of time, as the archidiaconal jurisdiction grew up, after the Conquest, the Archdeacons became intermediaries between the parish incumbents and the Bishops.‡

" All Archedeacons of Inglonde gatheredde peterpens of every fyver house within every parish one peny, which were grauntide VIII. hundrethe yeres

\* *Registrum Honoris de Richmond*, ed Gale, in Append. No. x. Lond. 1722.

† Here again the multiple of 30 has been taken. For the Peter-pence assessment of the various Norfolk parishes, see Blomefield's *Norfolk par. m.* For that of the Leicestershire parishes, see Nichols's *Leicestershire*, vol. i., pp. lxiii et seqq.

‡ It appears that Archdeaconries were first instituted in the province of York in 1090. The growth of the archidiaconal power was of Norman origin, and was in great measure due to the employment of Bishops in matters appertaining to the Court and the State.

paste . . . . now tharchedeacons affter thes pens gatherede payde the same in parte or all to the collector of Rome, saving tharchedeacons of Lincolne and Sarum, thes payde the pens gatherede to the Bisshope, the Bisshope payde to the collector."\*

It would appear that the Rector, or in impropriated rectories the Vicar, gathered the Rome-penny of his parishioners between† the feasts of SS. Peter and Paul and St. Peter's Chains. He passed it on to the Rural Dean, the Rural Dean to the Archdeacon, and the Archdeacon either to the Bishop, to be handed on to the Papal Collector, or he gave it direct to the Pope's Receiver.

Later on, the amount seems to have been gathered at the archdiaconal visitation by the Archdeacon's Official, his Registrar or Sumner, until finally Peter-pence probably lost much of its devotional character, came to be merely a traditional charge upon certain property, or to be paid as a customary sum by churchwardens out of the receipts of their parish, and was no doubt often mixed up with synodals, procurations, pensions, or some other archdiaconal requisition.

Had the ancient law, requiring that the Peter-pence from every house should be sent to Rome, continued in force, with the growth of population the tribute paid to the Holy See would have become a very heavy sum indeed. Innocent III. in the thirteenth century, declared that the surplus retained in England was known to be three times the amount of the sum that was forwarded to Rome. But, as has been said, the amount paid over to the Papal Collector became a fixed quota for each Diocese. The excess over the sum fixed for particular parishes was often applied towards the endowment of

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\* *Instrucciones for my Lord Privy Seall concerning the Bishoppe of Lincolne and his Archdeacon.* Mus. Brit. MSS., Cotton, Cleopatra F.I., ff. 84-85. The arrangement here spoken of was assuredly of modern growth, for formerly it was everywhere the Bishop who "paid to the Collector" and got his receipt for the payment. In the small diocese of Canterbury the Deans, not the Archdeacon, gathered the Peter-pence.

† It was to honour this immemorial custom that a law was made and promulgated by the Bishop of Salford in 1879, ordering the Peter-pence collection to be taken up, at the church doors or in any other way more convenient to the clergy, on the Sundays intervening between the feast of SS. Peter and Paul and the feast of St. Peter's Chains throughout the diocese. A standing diocesan notice to this effect appears in the Ordo.



vicarages,\* while the excess over the sum fixed for a particular archdeaconry became the handsome perquisite of the Archdeacon. Sometimes the surplus of Peter-pence became part of the emolument of certain great monasteries, whose Archdeacon, a monk, had the collecting of them upon the abbatial lands exempt by privilege from episcopal jurisdiction, often portions of Rome-seot went to compensate persons who had a share in the work of collecting it, but it was especially the Archdeacons who reckoned the surplus as among their customary profits.

All this was clearly an abuse, and various Popes published Bulls or Letters for the purpose of protecting the people against the exactions practised by some of the Archdeacons on the plea of gathering Peter-pence. But, with whatever drawbacks and abuses, Peter-pence continued not only to be paid till the Schism, but often to be paid by the people with a strong sense of faith and devotion. The people always regarded the successor St. Peter not only as the Head of their Church, but as their Father and their last refuge against tyranny and injustice. Thus Pope Paul IV., in an Allocution delivered in Public Consistory to the English Ambassadors of Philip and Mary, A.D. 1555, urged a return to the devotion of Peter-pence,

\* "*Habebit Vicarius totam etiam decimam pannagii Domini Archiepiscopi, et molendinorum, et reditum denarii Sancti Petri*." &c. Extract from the Ordination of the Vicarage of Harrow on the Hill, in the County of Middlesex, made by St. Edmund Rich., Archbishop of Canterbury from 1234 to 1240. (N.B. Harrow on the Hill, though locally in the diocese of London, was a peculiar of the Archbishop of Canterbury—the rectory became a sinecure.)

"*Percipiet Vicarius et decimam lane, agnorum, feni, lini et canabie totius parochie, cum cum minutis decimis omnibus et singulis ad altare quam qualitercumque spectantibus, et denarios Sancti Petri.*" . . . *Socii et synodalia et procuraciones archidiaconi consueta, et denarios Sancti Petri, &c.* Extract from the Ordination of the Vicarage of Leyland, in the County of Lancaster, made in 1331 by Roger Northburgh, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. (N.B. The rectory was inappropriate to the Priory or Cell of Penwortham—see "*Penwortham Papers*," Chetham Society.)

In 1340 a Vicarage was ordained by William de la Zouch, Archbishop of York, on the Rectory of Dewsbury being appropriated in 1348 to the College of the Chapel Royal of St. Stephen at Westminster. Among the Vicar's profits were to be "*all the Peter pence* and the pennies for the consecrated bread [the holy bread], wont to be paid by the parishioners," and that by this "*all*" was meant the *residue* of the parochial Peter pence is put beyond reasonable doubt by the fact that among the Vicar's *burthens* were to be procurations, synodals, *Peter pence*, &c. See Ecclesiastical History of Dewsbury, in *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, vol. i., pp. 149-168.

Many other instances might easily be cited as Lancaster, Garstang, Wakeneld, Buckingham, Bakewell, Tubswell, Kemsey, Blockley, &c.

saying that 'he had himself been for three years Papal Collector of Peter-pence in England and that he *had been much edified* by observing the forwardness of the people to contribute especially among the poorer and working classes.'\*

Peter-pence continued to be paid by England as a national homage to the Holy See until the passing of the Statute 25 Henry VIII cap. 21, when it was enacted that no imposition or exaction should be any more paid to the Bishop of Rome by the subjects of the English Crown.

This statute was repealed by 1 & 2 Philip and Mary, cap. 8 which abrogated all statutes and provisions made against the Apostolic See since the 20th year of Henry VIII.

By Statute 1 Eliz., cap. 1, the Peter-pence law was again repealed, and thus, after seven or eight hundred years, this English tribute of affection and duty, variously known as Romescot Peter-penny, Rome penny, or Hearth-penny, came to an end in England, as an offering required by the law of the land to be made annually to the Father of Christendom.<sup>+</sup>

From what has been said, it is evident that an appeal may fairly be made to Peter-pence as an indubitable witness to the faith and devotion of the English Church and people to St. Peter and the Centre of Unity during the long centuries which preceded the Henrician Schism. That it was paid as an act of devotion by the English people is clear from the Charter of King Edward the Confessor, preserved at Westminster: 'It has pleased me to renew, improve and confirm the customs—gifts of money, which my predecessors the kings have ordained for St. Peter, *on account of the supreme devotion which the English people have ever shewn to him and his Vicars.*' That it was paid as an act of homage to the Head of the Church is shewn even by the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*

\* *Sigismondi Istoria del Conc. Trid.* lvi., c. 15. Cf. Burnet, *Hist. of the Reformation*, p. II. b. II. p. 311.

+ That Peter-pence were collected long after the Reformation is quite certain as 'Notes and Queries' (July 26th, 1879) show. 'The query by C. T. B. respecting Peter-pence reminds me that in the 'Parish expenditure' of Milton Abbas the haywardens 'account' for 1588 contains the item 'For Peter's farthinges xj'. The 'old Churchwardens' Accounts of Tuxton, Devon' contained the entry '1610 Paid for Peter's farthinges x'. And Mr. Edward Peacock informs us (*ibidem*) that Peter's farthings are mentioned in the parish documents of Hatfield, Devon, as late as the year 1611.

of Henry VIII., where, under the Archdeaconry of Essex, is the following entry: "Ultra xjs annuatim solutos Regie Maiestati *uti Supremo Capiti Ecclesie Anglicane et Hibee* pro denariis quondam vocatis peterpens."

Surely no unprejudiced mind will gainsay the fact that the imposition of Peter-pence upon England by English public law, and its payment during so many centuries by the nation, was a very practical and national recognition of the office of the Pope, and of national submission to his divine Authority. What English Parliament ever imposed taxes on the people, unless urged thereunto by an adequate sense of duty or necessity? Can it be believed that the English people have been of so submissive and spiritless a character as to pay a money tribute, generation after generation, for 800 years, to one who had no good and substantial claim upon their Loyalty and Homage, to one whom they did not recognise as their divinely appointed Superior and Shepherd? It had been simply impossible to have levied in England for centuries the national tax of Peter-pence, but in obedience to a national sense of loyalty and duty to the See of Peter.

Finally, to connect ancient with modern times, to note the continuity of the same doctrine and the same spirit—look for a moment at the recent revival of Peter-pence in England, and throughout the Church. Within six weeks of the occupation of the Romagna by the Piedmontese a cry for Peter-pence arose among the Catholics of England. The land that had originated this homage of faith, that had formerly interwoven it with its laws, and carried it on as a portion of its national life for centuries, till schism and heresy abolished it in a sea of blood, had now the privilege of being the first country in Christendom to call for its revival. The cry for Peter-pence arose once more in England, three centuries to the year, after its suppression by Elizabeth.

"Let the Peter-penny be re-introduced," were the words of the appeal published in November 1859, by the *Tablet* newspaper, "not as a monetary help merely, but as a regular and lasting contribution. There are about eight millions of Catholics in England, Ireland, and Scotland. Supposing that everyone on an average pays one penny a year it will give



the round sum of £33,000. . . . We cannot doubt for a moment that this glorious and practical example will be followed by every part of the world."

The instinct was unerring; the prediction was exact. Collections for the Pope were made throughout England, Ireland and Scotland. The Diocese of Dublin alone contributed over £16,000, the largest collection, it was said, ever made in the churches of that city of generous hearts. The example of England and Ireland was followed elsewhere. In 1860, at the instance of Cardinal Wiseman, a Commission was formed in furtherance of the work of Peter-pence, to be taken up by Christendom. Cardinal Wiseman also suggested a Confraternity of St. Peter. The idea was accepted. Peter-pence was to take the form of a devotion rather than of a tax. Its first object must ever be to strengthen Faith and Loyalty, and to draw Christendom more closely round the Vicar of Christ and the Chair of Truth, while its second object, also an essential one, must be to pay the Peter-penny.

Pius IX. indulgenced directly the prayers of the Confraternity, but only indirectly the payment of the Peter-penny. He attached an Indulgence to every good work done by members in furtherance of the Confraternity.

Hence it is true that the Catholics of England of to-day have once more shewn themselves heirs to the spirit and practice of their ancestors during the thousand years which preceded the schism of the sixteenth century. The continuity is perfect, because the Faith is identical. Peter still reigns in the heart of Catholic England. God grant that men may learn that there is no Catholicism where Peter is not.

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## THE MOSAIC AUTHORSHIP OF THE PENTATEUCH.

A GREAT change has, within recent years, taken place in the attitude of the Anglican Church in regard to the question of the dates, authorship, and authenticity of the books of the Old Testament. Only a few years ago, when Bishop Colenso published to the world his startling views as to the comparatively recent date of the Pentateuch, and the historical untrustworthiness of the narrative, the Church of England rose in arms against him: he was put upon his trial, and found guilty. Now, a large number of the most distinguished men of the established Church openly hold and defend the same opinions, nay, more—Dr. Gore, the head of Pusey House, at Oxford, has edited a work, and himself contributed to it an article, in which he practically adopts the results of modern criticism in regard to the Old Testament.

It is true that apparently a kind of reaction is setting in among the clergy of the Established Church against the destructive criticism that finds favour with so many of its members. A "declaration on the truth of Holy Scripture," signed by thirty-eight Anglican clergymen of position has been published within the last few weeks, and has caused much excitement, and led to a lengthy correspondence in the *Times*. But the results are not likely to be lasting. The thing has fallen flat. It wears the air of an "unauthorized programme," and we notice that the names of their Right Rev. Lordships, the *Bishops* of the *Hierarchy* are conspicuous by their absence. The fact is the republican spirit is too deeply set in the Church of England for Bishops or other dignitaries to hope to curb the license with which articles of faith, or the Sacred Scriptures, are assailed by any, either clergy or laity, who are disposed to find fault with any thing contained in either.

Dr. Driver, Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford University, is one of those who have taken up entirely with the new views. He has already passed through the press much in

which he supports the conclusions of modern criticism as to the Sacred Scriptures, but with his previous writings we are at present concerned. The remarks we propose to offer in the present paper concern his most recent work, a volume presented to the National Theological Library, and entitled "An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament,"\* which as the name indicates, is a discussion of the character and authorship of the various books of the Old Testament. A large part of the volume is taken up with the consideration of the structure and composition of the Hexateuch—that is to say, the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua. Our remarks shall be confined exclusively to that part of the work.

It will be necessary in the first place to set down, as accurately as possible, what Dr. Driver's view is as to the composition of the Pentateuch. We confine ourselves to the Pentateuch, though Dr. Driver does not distinguish between the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua, regarding the two together as forming one homogeneous whole. For we can, without inconvenience, discuss his views in regard to the Pentateuch alone, and then, before concluding we shall explain why we do not regard the Book of Joshua as being essentially connected with it, though, no doubt, forming a kind of supplement to it.

Taking then the Pentateuch as it stands, Dr. Driver is of opinion that it is, broadly speaking, made up of three distinct documents or works, welded together so as to form one whole. The first of these:—

Has received different names, suggested by one or other of the various characteristics attaching to it. From its preference (till Exodus vi, 3,) for the name of God "Elohim" rather than *Jehovah* it has been termed the *Elohistic* narrative, and its author has been called the *Elohist*, and these names are still sometimes employed. By Ewald it was termed the "Book of Origins," by Tuch and Noldeke, from the fact that it seemed to form the groundwork of our Hexateuch, the "Grundschrift," more recently, by Wellhausen, Kuenen, and Dehltzsch, it has been styled the "Priests' Code" (p. 8).

Dr. Driver himself adopts the term "Priests' Code" to specify this part of the Pentateuch, and for brevity sake,

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\* T. & T. Clarke, Edinburgh.



generally refers to it simply by the letter P. Going on further to consider what portion of the Pentateuch is included in this so-called Priests' Code, we find that it is declared to embrace a very large part of it. In fact, without going into detail, beginning with the sublime account of the Creation contained in the first chapter of Genesis, it presents "an outline of the antecedents and patriarchal history of Israel, in which only important occurrences—as the Creation, the Deluge, the covenants with Noah and Abraham—are described with minuteness" (p. 10). The same narrative we are told is found to run through the Book of Exodus, including the whole of Chapters XXV. to XXXI., which record the instructions given to Moses respecting the Tabernacle and the priesthood, and also Chapters XXXV. to XL., which narrate the execution by him of the orders he had received. The book of Leviticus may, roughly speaking, be attributed in its entirety to the same writer, though certain differences, in style and phraseology, are said to be detected in Chapters XVII. to XXVI. Finally the so-called Priests' Code makes up about three-fourths of the Book of Numbers.

As to the style of this portion of the Pentateuch, Dr. Driver says:—"If the parts assigned to P. be read attentively, even in a translation, and compared with the rest of the narrative, the peculiarities of its style will be apparent. Its language is that of a jurist, rather than a historian: it is circumstantial, formal, precise: a subject is developed systematically: and completeness of detail, even at the cost of some repetition, is regularly observed. Sentences are cast with great frequency into the same mould; and particular formulae are constantly repeated, especially such as articulate the progress of the narrative" (p. 10).

Such, according to Dr. Driver, is the Priests' Code, and such its style, distinct from that of any other part of the Pentateuch. As to when it was written, we are informed that it is the latest portion of the Hexateuch: in fact, that, in its completed form, it "is the work of the age subsequent to Ezechiel" (p. 135).

Besides the document of which we have been speaking, there is a second,—said to have been originally composed of distinct narratives—which runs through the books of

Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, parallel to the so-called Priestly-Code. "One of these sources," says Dr. Driver (page 12) "from its use of the name *Jahweh*, is now generally denoted by the letter J: the other, in which the name *Elohim* is preferred, is denoted similarly by E; and the work formed by the combination of the two is referred to by the double letters JE." This double narrative, speaking generally, comprises all that remains of the first four books of the Pentateuch, after the so-called Priests' Code has been removed. As for distinguishing one part of this double narrative (JE.) from another, that can only be done roughly, as Dr. Driver very freely admits, "owing to the details being indecisive, and capable, consequently, of divergent interpretations;" (p. 12), not so however, in regard to P. and JE., which "form two clearly definable, independent sources." (p. 17).

As to the date of the double narrative called JE., apparently there is much difference of opinion among scholars of the critical school. Dillman, Kittel, and Riehm, assign E. priority to J., placing E. in the early part of the *ninth* century B.C.; whilst, on the other hand, Wellhausen, Küenen, and Stade, consider J. to be *earlier* than E., fixing it in the latter half of the *eighth* century B.C. All critics appear to be agreed that both J. and E. are anterior to the year 750, B.C. So the *terminus ad quem* is fixed; but, as we should expect, critical scholarship finds it more difficult to assign a date earlier than which JE. cannot have been written. "In fact, conclusive criteria fail us," says Dr. Driver. "We can only argue upon grounds of probability derived from our view of the progress of the art of writing, or of literary composition, &c." (p. 117). In fact, Dr. Driver, comparing JE. with the book of Judges, which he considers cannot be much later than David's time, will not undertake to say that it is not even earlier than that book.

We have now set forth Dr. Driver's view as to the composition of the first four books of the Pentateuch. "The book of Deuteronomy," says Dr. Driver (p. 67) "is relatively simple. The body of the book is pervaded throughout by a single purpose, and bears the marks of being the work of a single writer, who has taken as the basis of his discourses, partly the narrative and laws of JE., as they exist in the previous books

of the Pentateuch, partly laws derived from other sources" (p. 67). There are also traces of the so-called Priests' Code, we are told, towards the end of the book, but with that part of the Pentateuch generally, "it shows no phraseological connection whatever" (p. 95). The literary style of Deuteronomy is very marked and individual. In vocabulary, indeed, it presents comparatively few exceptional words, but particular words and phrases, consisting sometimes of entire clauses recur with extraordinary frequency, giving a distinctive colouring to every part of the work' (p. 91). Again of the writer: "His power as an orator is shown in the long and stately periods with which his work abounds, at the same time the parenthetic treatment which his subject often demands, always maintains its freshness, and is never monotonous or prolix" (p. 95). As to the date of Deuteronomy, we are told it must have been written earlier than the 18th year of King Josias (B. C. 621), when Helcias discovered "the book of the law" in the temple. Dr. Driver finds it difficult to decide upon the exact date, but finally comes to the conclusion that it probably belongs to the reign of king Manasseh (x641 B.C.)

Such, in brief, according to the teaching of modern criticism, is the composition of the Pentateuch. It is made up of a composite narrative (J.E.), which had its origin perhaps in the days of King David: of the Book of Deuteronomy, written about the time of King Manasseh and finally of what is called the Priests' Code, which belongs to the time after the prophet Ezechiel (after the year 570 B.C.)

It is unnecessary for us to assert, on the other hand, that we regard Moses as the author of the Pentateuch, and accordingly that we have no sympathy whatever with Dr. Driver's views as to the dates of the different parts into which he divides that great work. On the other hand there are some of his conclusions which are not necessarily inconsistent with the Mosaic authorship, and which at the same time are often adduced as proofs that the Pentateuch is not the work of the Great Hebrew Legislator: into the bearing which those conclusions have upon the question of the Mosaic authorship we propose to enter in the following pages.

When we speak of Moses as the author of the Pentateuch, we by no means necessarily assert, that he made use of no



previously existing documents in the composition of his work. That such a method of composition is not inconsistent with inspiration is clear, for it is the ordinary system upon which the historical books of the Old Testament have been written. This to omit the book of Joshua, to which it might be objected that it is in much the same position as the Pentateuch, it is universally admitted that the writer of Judges had at his certain written sources, which he used in the composition of his work. Indeed, Cornely says\* of it that "the style varies not a little in the different sections, nor can so great a difference be satisfactorily explained, unless the author be said to have faithfully transcribed what he found in the sources he drew from. That the narratives of the books of Samuel, Kings and Chronicles are largely drawn from written sources is obvious if for no other reason, because a large number of written documents used by the writers, are referred to in the text amongst others, the Book of the Just (II. Sam., i., 18), the Book of the Kings of Juda and Israel (II. Chron., xvi., 11), the Book of the words of the days of Solomon (II. Kings xi., 49) the Book of Semeias the prophet, and of Addo the seer (II. Chron., xii., 15), the Book of the words of the days of the Kings of Juda (I. Kings, xv., 31), and many others too numerous to mention. Nor are we without proof of the closeness with which the authors of these books followed the sources which they had at hand; for comparing parallel passages from the Books of Kings and Chronicles, we find they are almost, and in many case absolutely, word for word alike.<sup>†</sup> Of the two books of Esdras Cornely says‡ that "no one, who has even cursorily read the two books, that we call the 1st and 2nd of Esdras, can escape the conclusion that various writings are therein joined and so to say glued together." Finally to take the books of the Maccabees, we read (2 Machabees ch., 24) that the inspired writer has composed it by simply abridging into one work the five volumes of Jason of Cyrene, and in regard to the first book we know from two verses therein (ix., 22, xvi., 24) that the author made use of written sources and we find that he has

\* Introduction to Sacred Scripture, vol. 1, p. 222.

† E. G. C. F. II. Kings, x., 129. II. Chron., ix., 128.

‡ Introduction Vol. 1, p. 359.

incorporated in his work, nine public documents, taken from the public archives.

There is no reason for astonishment therefore, if we find that Moses, in the composition of the Pentateuch, incorporated in it previously existing documents. In doing so he differs in nothing from the other historical writers of the Old Testament. Nor is it unlikely that the great leader of the Exodus did not remodel and express in his own words what he had taken from other sources. If he were a modern writer, no doubt such would be his course, but in acting otherwise, and receiving into his work, more or less unaltered, the words of other writers, he would have been doing no more than following the usual mode of composition among his countrymen. We find nothing to quarrel with in the following extract from Dr. Driver (p. 3.)

The authors of the Hebrew historical books except the shortest, as Ruth and Esther do not, as a modern historian would do, *re-write* the matter in their own language: they excerpt from the sources at their disposal such passages as are suitable to their purpose, and incorporate them in their work, sometimes adding matter of their own, but often (as it seems) introducing only such modifications of form as are necessary for the purpose of fitting them together or accommodating them to their plan.

How then are we to reconcile the divergences of style, which Dr. Driver asserts he discovers in the first four books of the Pentateuch with the Mosaic authorship? Apparently he himself thinks (p. 149) that they cannot be reconciled with what he scottishly terms "the journal theory" of the Pentateuch. If, indeed, the variety of style were only observable in the Book of Genesis, he thinks that something might be said for the theory of incorporated documents, but the fact that the same divergency is manifested throughout the Books of Exodus, Numbers and Leviticus—we are leaving Deuteronomy aside for the present—seems to him completely to dispose of the theory.

We should say, then that in that part of the Pentateuch which Dr. Driver terms the Priests' Code we have the direct composition of the great Hebrew Legislator himself. Many things go to favour such a supposition. It is the portion of

the Pentateuch which is acknowledged by all to form the groundwork of that sacred volume. It constitutes the greater part of the first four books of the Pentateuch, and forms the framework upon which the whole narrative is built up. It was composed after the remaining parts and necessarily pre-supposes their existence. Then taking the subject matter of the so-called Priests' Code, we find that it embraces that portion of the Pentateuch which we should naturally expect Moses, the Great Legislator, to have written down with his own hand. Dr. Driver admits (p. 6) that the unity of design in Genesis has long been acknowledged by critics. The so-called Priests' Code is the basis of that unity, forming the groundwork of the whole: other documents are only introduced to fill in the picture. Leviticus, the legislative book *par excellence* of the Pentateuch, belongs, as we should expect, in its entirety to the same writer. The Priests' Code, moreover, pervades the Book of Exodus, including thirteen whole chapters towards the end, which are taken up with the tabernacle and legislation in regard to the priesthood. Finally, to the same narrative belongs three-fourths of the Book of Numbers, concerned chiefly with rubrics and legislation as to levites, festivals, vows, and other subjects requiring the special attention of the legislator himself.

But then, it may be asked, Whence did Moses take the narrative of the Exodus? It may be admitted as plausible, that he should have incorporated in the Book of Genesis certain documents relating to the early history of mankind. It is also clear that certain parts of the story of the wanderings in the desert belong to the so-called Priests' Code, and so may be said to have been written by Moses himself. But how comes it that we find embedded, even in the history of the Exodus, in which Moses himself took part, and of which he was the leader, certain long passages and extracts apparently in the same style as that of the foreign elements detected in Genesis? In a word, how comes it that the composite narrative JE., is found to pervade not only Genesis but also Exodus and Numbers?

During their sojourn in the land of Egypt the Hebrews were dwelling in a land where the art of writing had already, as is acknowledged by all, been practised for upwards



of a thousand years, indeed, assuming, as seems necessary, that the Exodus took place towards the close of the nineteenth dynasty, the most moderate calculation will place the age of the Great Pyramid at a thousand years before the departure of the Hebrews from the land of Egypt. Long before the time of Moses, even in the days of the fourth dynasty, we know that parchment was used as a writing material, and there are actually at present in certain European libraries, papyri, containing portions of the ritual called the "Book of the Dead" dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties. Furthermore, at a very early period, perhaps as early as the pyramids, the artistic hieroglyphic character had been abbreviated and rounded so as to give place to a more suitable and easily practised form of writing—hence the cursive hieratic character. Of such writing we have a specimen dating from the eighteenth dynasty, and much of the papyrus Harris, entitled "the Records of Ramses III.," belonging to the time of Moses is written in the same character. Long before those days, even in the time Khufu, writing and literary composition were so far developed, that royal libraries and librarians were in existence, and even the Pharaohs themselves had turned authors\*.

It is obvious therefore that in the time of Moses a literature existed in Egypt. Indeed, to his time belongs the papyrus Anastasi No. 1, in which we find the names of nine authors distinguished in theology, philosophy, history, and poetry. With theology, philosophy, and poetry, as they existed in Egypt in those days, we are not concerned, but it is important to note the fact, which indeed is made evident from many other independent sources that, whilst the Hebrews were dwelling in Egypt, attention was given to the writing of history, and historians existed who had already distinguished themselves in that branch of literature.

Departing then from the highly civilised kingdom of Egypt it is in no way surprising that Moses who had received a high-class Egyptian education, should have established a body of scribes to write down, from old sources and reliable traditions, the early history of the human race and of the family of Abraham to the time of the Exodus.

\* Archbishop Smith's Pentateuch.

Nor is it unlikely that he should have entrusted to the same men the task of keeping a record of the events of the wanderings, sometimes writing down facts that came under their own immediate observation, and were known to all the Israelites : at other times, recording events or copying down laws which had been communicated to them by the leader of the Exodus himself. It seems to us reasonable to suppose that such an account of the wanderings in the desert was written : for we do not know if, in the beginning of the Exodus, Moses had any intention of writing his great work ; and it is very unlikely that for a long time after the Exodus began, he could have found the time, with his numberless anxieties and responsibilities, to devote himself to the task of recording, as accurately as we find them recorded in the Pentateuch, the events that happened in connection with the departure from Egypt. Not that Moses could not have had his memory strengthened in a miraculous manner ; but, it is more in accordance with the manner in which we know the historical books of the Old Testament to have been composed, to suppose, that the writer, when he gives an accurate account of past events, has not dispensed with the ordinary means of attaining accurate knowledge, but is relying upon written authorities.

Now comes the question, what relation there is between this history, compiled by Hebrew scribes, and the present Pentateuch. We see no objection to supposing that Moses, when he set about the work of composing the Pentateuch, availed himself of the written account that already existed of the early history of mankind and of the events of the Exodus. In doing so, he acted after the ordinary manner of Hebrew writers, and transferred such passages as he required to his own work, without imparting to them, as a modern writer would do, the impress of his own style. Still he made it clear that he was the real author of the whole, the groundwork of the entire volume was his : he changed and explained and supplemented incorporated passages as he thought fit. He omitted wholesale at times, as witness the total silence as to most of the Exodus, because it was not to his purpose to dwell upon it ; and finally he wrote, independently, the entire book of *Leviticus*.

Nor again, upon the supposition that we are supporting, is there any reason for surprise, that a certain piece of legislation was apparently written before the time one would expect, judging by its position in the Pentateuch. For very possibly it was written down by Moses, and recorded by the scribes, before he entered upon the composition of the Pentateuch. Then when he was engaged over that great work, he naturally incorporated the laws in the position best suited to them, though not necessarily always in Chronological order.

So then Moses seems to us to have written the first four books of the Pentateuch after the usual manner of the sacred historians of the Jews. Roughly speaking, the so-called Priests' Code seems to embrace that part of the narrative which is the direct composition of Moses, the composite narrative (JE.) to consist of the extracts he incorporated in his work, from a previously existing account of early history and the events of the Exodus.

The question now arises, how we are to explain the origin of the book of Deuteronomy. 'Even though it were clear that the first four books of the Pentateuch were written by Moses, it would be difficult to sustain the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy,' says Dr. Driver (p. 77). One point we are prepared to admit. If the same signs of composition pervaded Deuteronomy, which Dr. Driver asserts he discovers in the earlier parts of the Pentateuch, it would not be so easy to support its Mosaic authorship. For here we have a solemn and heart-felt exhortation of the aged patriarch to his people. We have a simple and straightforward laying before them of the law they have to follow, and it is unlikely that Moses would have, for the most part, sought for his words anywhere but in his own heart and mind. But as a matter of fact, all the attempts of criticism have been unable to controvert the unity of authorship of Deuteronomy, a unity which is a conspicuous sign of its Mosaic authorship.

Dr. Driver gives us a very good idea of the character of Deuteronomy, which it is important to notice (p. 72):

In as far as it is a law-book, Deuteronomy may be described as a manual, which, without entering into technical details almost the only exception is *xv. 3-20*, which explains itself would instruct the Israelite in the ordinary duties of life. It gives general directions as to the way in



which the annual feasts are to be kept and the principal offerings paid. It lays down a few fundamental rules concerning sacrifice: for a case in which technical skill would be required it refers to the priests. It prescribes the general principles by which family and domestic life is to be regulated, specifying a number of the cases most likely to arise. Justice is to be equitably and impartially administered. It prescribes a due position in the community to the prophet, and shows how even the monarchy may be so established as not to contravene the fundamental principles of the theocracy.

Again:—

Deuteronomy is, however, more than a mere code of laws; it is the expression of a profoundly ethical and religious spirit, which determines its character in every part. At the head of the hortatory introduction stands the Decalogue; and the First Commandment forms the text of the chapters which follow. (p. 72).

Finally:—

Duties, however, are not to be performed from secondary motives, such as fear, or dread of consequences: they are to be the spontaneous outcome of a heart from which every taint of worldliness has been removed, and which is penetrated by an all-absorbing sense of personal devotion to God. (p. 73).

In these passages we have given us a very good idea of the nature and spirit of the Book of Deuteronomy. But what to us seems strange is that the writer of these words should bring the following objection against its authorship by Moses:—

But the remarkable circumstance is that, as in the laws, so in the history, *Deuteronomy is dependent upon JE.....* An important conclusion follows from this fact. Inasmuch as, in our existing Pentateuch, JE. and P. constantly cross one another; the constant absence of any reference to P. can only be reasonably explained by one supposition, viz., that when Deuteronomy was composed *JE. and P. were not yet united into a single work, and JE. alone formed the basis of Deuteronomy.\** (p. 76).

The meaning of these words is clear. We are to believe that two independent and distinct narratives are welded together in the Pentateuch; that one of these was composed in the early days of the Monarchy, the other after the time of

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\* The Italics are Dr. Driver's.

Ezekiel. Deuteronomy is now declared to be based entirely upon the former of these documents, and to display "a constant absence of any reference" to the other. The conclusion is obvious. Deuteronomy was written after the first document (J.E.), and before the second (P.), in fact, as has been said before, about the time of the reign of king Manasseh.

No doubt, if it were true, that no allusion to the so-called Priests' Code occurs in Deuteronomy, it might seem strange from Dr. Driver's point of view. But as a matter of fact, odd as it may appear in conjunction with the passage just quoted, Dr. Driver has to admit, and strive to account for, as best he can, a very large number of allusions to that part of the Pentateuch, occurring in Deuteronomy. Thus, to take one instance out of many, after referring to certain parallel passages in Deuteronomy and the Priestly Code, Dr. Driver thus continues (p. 137): -

Of these the most important is *xvi., 4-20*. Here is a long passage virtually identical in Deuteronomy and Leviticus; and that it is borrowed in Deuteronomy from P. - or at least from a priestly collection of Tôrath - rather than conversely, appears from certain features of style which connect it with P. and not with Deuteronomy, and from the fact that verses 7, 9-10, 12, 20, seem most naturally *abbreviated* from Leviticus *xvi., 4-6, 9-12, 13, 21-22* respectively. If so, however, one part of P. was in existence when Deuteronomy was written, and a presumption at once arises that other parts were in existence also.

Dr. Driver, of course, does not hold this to be the case; but we on the other hand can reject as groundless the argument against the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy, based upon the absence of allusions in it to the so-called Priestly Code. It is, moreover, interesting to note the kind of logic employed by modern criticism to compass its ends in these matters. We have it first brought forward as a proof of the non-existence of the Priestly Code in the time of the Deuteronomist, that there is "a constant absence of any reference to it" in that writer. Then later on we have it admitted that there are frequent allusions to the same document in the Book of Deuteronomy, and an attempt is made to show that these allusions do not necessarily show that the writer was acquainted with the whole.

*But as a matter of fact the character of the legislation,*

which is contained in that part of the Pentateuch known as Priests' Code, makes it unlikely that it would have been quoted in Deuteronomy as frequently as that contained in the remaining portion of the Pentateuch. Indeed, it is strange that modern critics do not make more allowance for that fact. If it be true then that the Priests' Code—whilst undoubtedly referred to in Deuteronomy—is less frequently used than the so-called narrative JE., the explanation of that fact is to be found in the character of Book of Deuteronomy itself. How could we expect to find in a general exhortation to goodness and observance of the law extracts from chapters dealing with the measurements of the tabernacle, the propitiatory, the candlestick, the lamp and the altar of incense? Surely it would have been beside the point in such a work, to have introduced long technical discussions as to the different kinds of sacrifices, the complicated ceremonial law of the priests, and other subjects contained in the Book of Leviticus. Such questions concerned the priests rather than the people, and would have been quite out of place in the Book of Deuteronomy.

On the other hand, the Decalogue and the more general and fundamental laws referring to justice, reverence for superiors, keeping of oaths and the like, contained in such parts of the Pentateuch as the Book of the Covenant (Ex. xx., 23-23, 33), naturally find a place in the Book of Deuteronomy. Now a question may very naturally arise over this part of the subject. "Is it possible," one may say, "that we owe such a code as the Decalogue, and the collection of laws known as the Book of the Covenant to some unknown scribe, writing at the time of the Exodus; for the legislation that comes under both these heads appears as part of the document JE., and is not classed as belonging to the so-called Priestly Code." It is true, indeed, that Dr. Driver inserts them in the composite narrative of the Pentateuch, called JE., but with such explanation as practically admits that they are not the work of the writer of that narrative. "The Decalogue was, of course," he says (p. 30), "derived by E. from a pre-existing source, at least the substance of it being engraved on the tables of the Ark, and incorporated by him in his narrative." So too in regard to the Book of the Covenant, "The laws

themselves are taken naturally from a pre-existing source, though their form, in particular cases, may be due to the compiler, who united J and E into a whole" (p. 33). It comes to this then, that Dr. Driver knows nothing of the authorship of either of these passages, all he can say is that they were incorporated in the narrative of the Pentateuch known as JE. From our point of view, as far as critical science is concerned, we are at liberty to account as we please for the origin of these pieces, whilst we recognise it as most certain, that if Moses had established a body of scribes to write down the events of the Exodus, he would have handed over to them, to be recorded in their narrative, this most important legislation, the outcome of his mysterious visit to Sinai.

We have already quoted some passages from Dr. Driver, relative to the style of Deuteronomy, in which he seems to hold that it has no affinity at all with that of the Priestly Code. That statement will doubtless appear to us exaggerated, when we remember that we are told there is a uniform style throughout the entire book, and also that many passages are clearly taken from corresponding passages in the Priestly Code. But more than that Dr. Driver admits that "comparatively few exceptional words" are met with in Deuteronomy. In what then does the peculiarity of style of that book consist? Apparently in the frequent recurrence of particular words, phrases, and clauses, which gives a *distinctive colouring* to every part of the work; and also in the oratorical power which characterises it. In regard to the first of these reasons, however, we may remind Dr. Driver that he has already told us (p. 10) that there is a tendency to repetition in the so-called Priests' Code. "Sentences are cast with great frequency into the same mould, and particular formulæ are constantly repeated." If the recurring clauses are different in Deuteronomy, that is owing to the nature of the subject matter; just as the phrase 'these are the generations of,' whilst occurring eleven times in Genesis, occurs once only in the rest of the Pentateuch. As for the eloquence of Deuteronomy, that is what we should expect in such a book. The greater part of the Pentateuch is a legal document, and where it is historical, for the most part, the story has to be briefly told, and is taken up largely with genealogies and statistics. Still, who can



deny that a volume which has imprinted itself deeply upon the imagination of mankind for thousands of years is one abounding in genuine eloquence and oratorical power? But it is natural to suppose that oratory would be specially characteristic of the Book of Deuteronomy, the last address of the great patriarch to his people, in which he lays before them the benefits conferred upon them by God, and their obligations to Him, and at the same time exhorts them to keep His law.

One question still requires to be briefly discussed. "The journal theory" says Dr. Driver (p. 149), "takes a false view of the book of Joshua, which is not severed from the following books, and connected with the Pentateuch, for the purpose of satisfying the exigencies of a theory, but because this view of the book *is required by the facts*—a simple comparison of it with the Pentateuch showing, viz., that it is *really homogeneous with it* and (especially in the P. sections) that it differs entirely from Joshua, Samuel, and Kings."\*

Accordingly, throughout his discussion of the Hexateuch, Dr. Driver includes Joshua with the remaining five books, and partitions it out between the two narratives JE. and P., just as in the case of the Pentateuch. The result, if true, would of course upset the views we have been enunciating as to the composition of the Pentateuch—hence we have to devote a few words to the matter here.

There is no reason to suppose, in the case of the Book of Joshua, any more than any other of the historical books of the Old Testament, that it was composed by the author without the assistance of any written source. On the contrary it is but reasonable to suppose, if we conclude that a body of scribes was established for historical purposes by Moses in the desert, that they continued their work in the Promised Land, and that it is their narrative that Joshua incorporates in his book. So we have no difficulty in accounting for the apparent continuation of the narrative JE. in the Book of Joshua.

But Dr. Driver tells us that the same document P. appears in Joshua which he discovers running through the first four books of the Pentateuch; and if the writer of the so-called

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\* The Italics are Dr. Driver's.

Priestly Code be Moses, how can we find the same writer appearing in the Book of Joshua. Briefly, we deny that the Priestly Code is continued in the Book of Joshua. No doubt the style of Joshua bears a very great resemblance to that of Moses, as we should expect. He had lived in close contact with Moses during the forty years of the wanderings, and had been chosen by his master for the task of completing the conquest of the Promised Land. Joshua had no doubt been present at the composition of much of the Pentateuch and surely it is more than likely that he had been urged by Moses to complete the history of the Exodus, by writing an account of the conquest of Palestine. At all events, it is only natural to find that he has actually accomplished that task, and to recognise in the disciple traces of the style of his master.

One thing is quite certain, that Dr. Driver cannot find fault with us for this conclusion since in this matter we are but acting on his own principles. For when discussing the authorship of the Priestly Code, which is attributed by many modern critics to the prophet Ezechiel, owing to similarity of style, he dissents, using the following words: "The priests of each successive generation would adopt, as a matter of course, the technical formulae, and other stereotyped expressions, which they learnt from their seniors, new terms, when they were introduced, being accommodated to the old moulds. Hence, no doubt, the similarity of Ezechiel's style to P., even where a definite law is not quoted by him" (p. 148). Can Dr. Driver object if we explain, upon the same principles, the similarity of style between the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua, whilst maintaining that the writers were not the same? What seems to us to be a strong confirmation of Joshua's authorship is the fact that, as Dr. Driver says (p. 97), "It (Joshua) seems to have passed through the hands of a writer who was strongly inclined with the spirit of Deuteronomy." Is not this just what we should expect from the faithful lieutenant, the successor of Moses, who carried on the government of the Hebrews to the best of his power, in the spirit of his old master.

Moses, therefore, wrote the Pentateuch. In the composition of that work, like the other historical writers of the Old

Testament, he made use of written sources ; freely admitting into his pages, perhaps, extracts from a previously existing history of the early days of mankind, and of the wanderings in the desert ; but stamping it all with the impress of his own mind ; altering and supplementing it as he thought fit, so as to bring it in conformity with fact, and to accomplish the great work imposed on him by God.

J. AIDAN HOWLETT.



## SIX MONTHS AT THE GRANDE CHARTREUSE.

SO much has been written on the subject of this famous monastery, the home for 800 years of one of the most ancient Orders of the Catholic Church, and the only one that has never needed reform, that the reader may be tempted to turn away impatiently from an article bearing the above title.

The facilities for observation of Carthusian life afforded to the present writer have, however, been so complete, and at the same time unique, that this short sketch of daily life at the Grande Chartreuse may have an interest that the cursory observations of passing travellers must necessarily lack.

A visit to the Carthusians' classic home offered a great English poet, unhappily no longer with us, an occasion for the penning of some of his most beautiful stanzas, but their value, apart from the melodious cadence of which Matthew Arnold possessed the secret, is purely personal and psychological. It is the poet's mind under the influence of his strange surroundings that arrests and fixes the reader's attention, and forms the subject-matter of the poem. The aim of these few pages is very different, namely, to give as far as may be a faithful transcript of experience, they contain no attempt to pronounce on any of the social or moral questions involved in the theory of monasticism, but a plain record of things seen and heard.

In the first days of November, 1888, I left England in order to enter the Noviciate at that venerable monastery, the Mother-house of the Carthusian Order. On the second day of my journey I was slowly mounting the narrow gorge that leads from the little village of St. Laurent du Pont to the Grande Chartreuse. The gaunt leafless beeches, *bare ruined choirs where late the sweet birds sang* lined the road, the snow lay thick on the mountain and the piercing cold was but a cheerless welcome from nature. As we climbed the cold grew keener and the snow deeper, the beeches became almost entirely superseded by pines, while a dense white mist filled



the air, and congealing on our coats, frosted them over with a delicate crystal brine. The awful stillness, which like the Egyptian darkness could be felt in its tingling intensity, Nature lying motionless under her white grave-clothes, every feature of the scene seemed to whisper "Memento mori." It was a fitting approach to the shrine of Death and Eternity.

At last the monastery, rendered visible at fifty yards distance by the mist, was reached.

The jangling tones of the great bell echoed through the vast building and I was soon inside the old Norman doorway, surmounted by the crest\* and motto of the Order. A cheery lay brother welcomed me heartily, and, shouldering my luggage, led me to the guests' quarters, where I was glad to find a blazing fire. The father confessor, who is charged with the entertainment of visitors, soon appeared, and made me feel thoroughly at home by his genial courtesy. After a chat and a plentiful "maigre" supper—as meat may not be served, even to visitors, within the walls of a Chartreuse—I was glad to get to bed. The following day, which was Sunday, my friend the lay brother conducted me through interminable courts and cloisters to the Superior's cell. A tall, grand looking man of about sixty rose as I entered and welcomed me warmly, and after giving me some wise counsels on the arduous task that lay before me accompanied me to the cell of the Novice Master, who was to be in the future my guide, philosopher, and friend. Don Julian a keen-faced, intelligent-looking man who retained as a recluse the enthusiasm which had distinguished him through many years of ministerial activity, was delighted to receive a new disciple and after having embraced me on both cheeks *more Gallico* proposed, with the reverend father's full approval, to put me in my cell—*me mettre en cellule*—that very evening.

Accordingly after vespers the ceremony of my introduction to the cloister was performed. Inasmuch as it will be novel to most of my readers, I will describe it in detail. Don Julian washed and kissed my feet reciting the Miserere, and then

\* A globe surmounted by a cross and seven stars, representing the vision of the lost Earth shown vouchsafed to St. Hugh of Grenoble, who recognised in the seven stars St. Bruno and his six companions. The motto of the Order is "*Stet crux dum volvitur orbis*"—"The cross stands firm while the planet revolved."

shod me in the manner peculiar to the Order, *i.e.*, in stockings of thick flannel, terminating in gaiters, over which were drawn flannel slippers and finally a pair of square-toed, thick-soled shoes. Human ingenuity, by the end of the eleventh century, had not yet devised a garment that should be stocking and sock in one, and conservative in this as in other points of greater importance, the Carthusians still follow the fashions of that far-off epoch. This survival in the modern Church of the old Eastern custom, familiar to readers of the Gospels, is full to the monastic mind of a holy and touching symbolism. Those who have read the discourses of St. Bernard to the monks of Clairvaux will remember the peculiar sanctity attached by that Father to the Monastery as such: the material building, once it was inhabited by the servants of the Almighty and consecrated to their use by the rites of the Church, became a shrine and a holy place. Hence the literal application of the divine command to Moses, "Put thy shoes from off thy feet for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground."

The pilgrim arrives from the world soiled and stained; before he is allowed to enter the holy place his feet are washed, the kiss of fraternity imprinted on them, and the *Miserere* is recited in order to signify the penitential meaning of the ceremony.

He does not put on again his own shoes, but is shod after the fashion of the servants of God in whose steps he is to follow. Like all the vestments now devoted to exclusively religious uses by the Catholic Church the divided stocking of the Carthusian to-day fraught with mystic meaning, was originally the ordinary garment of the world at large.

This ceremony concluded, the Novice-master conducted me to the cell I was to occupy. It was situated in the Great or Gothic Cloister which visitors to the Grande Chartreuse will call to mind as the only part of the 13th century monastery still standing.

Passing through a heavy oaken door over which ran the inscription—*This is the House of God and the Gate of Heaven, blessed are they that dwell therein*, we found ourselves in a passage 40 feet by 12 having a large cross painted at one end of it.

My guide explained to me that this was the *ambulatorium* and might serve for exercise so long as the weather should make garden work impossible. "Which will be for some time," he added, with a smiling glance through one of the two windows that lighted the passage at the state of my little garden, which was choked with snow. Then opening a door on the left with the words, "Here you will find rougher and therefore better work," he showed me the two ground-floor rooms, one a workshop containing carpenter's tools and a turning-lathe where I could amuse myself during the time allotted to manual labour and recreation, in making anything from an egg cup to a table and the other well stocked with wood which it would be my task to saw and cut into shape for my fire, a necessity in a region where the snow lies eight months a year. Then he led me up a small staircase to the other rooms, three in number, consisting of an ante-room, a living room, and a tiny library with just room for bookcase, chair and table. The ante-room was simply furnished with a few religious prints, a white stucco crucifix, and a large white statue of the Madonna, coloured objects of devotion being prohibited in the cells as contrary to the spirit of simplicity.

Lauspergius, a mediæval Carthusian Prior, well known to students of Christian mysticism as one of the claimants to the authorship of the "Imitation of Christ," introduced into his own monastery the custom of saying a "Hail Mary" before this Madonna on entering the cell, "*pour saluer la maîtresse de la maison*," as Don Julian explained. The mistress of the house saluted, we went on into the inner room which forms the real home of the monk. This room, the *Sacra Sanctorum* of his hermitage, is consecrated to complete solitude; from five to seven hours are passed there daily in solitary prayer and study, and though by special permission visitors, notably the monks charged with the instruction of novices in singing and manual labour, may enter the *ambulatorium*, no step save that of the recluse himself and the Superior ever cross the threshold of this cell within a cell. The only exceptions are the infirmarian and the doctor in time of sickness and the whole community when the novice is first enclosed and also when the life-long renunciation of the hermit is consummated by the Angel of Death.

A plain crucifix and a few devotional pictures, together with plaster statuettes of the Madonna, St. Joseph, and St. Bruno, form its only ornaments. Its furniture is composed of a stall and prie-dieu where the divine office not said in choir is recited, a plain wooden bedstead, a small table where the solitary eats his frugal meals, a stove, and a few chairs. Here and in choir is passed the life of the Carthusian. If those walls could have spoken, what tales they might have told of the conflicts of the anchorites they had enclosed for centuries! For my cell was in the oldest part of the cloister, and only a few doors from the one occupied by a famous monk of the Grande Chartreuse, St. Hugh whom Englishmen honour as the builder of Lincoln Cathedral, and a champion of the liberties of the English Church when a forerunner of Henry VIII. attempted to over-ride them.

The time that elapsed between entering the cloister and receiving the monastic habit was uneventful being occupied in learning the details of Carthusian ritual, which is almost identical with that used in the Church of Lyons in the 12th century, and very different from the practice of the Church of to-day.

Some ten days later I was summoned to the Chapter House to receive the monastic habit. After receiving the kiss of peace from all the monks, the Novice-master led me to the sanctuary where I lay prostrate while the monks sang a particularly beautiful "*Veni Sancte Spiritus*." The hymn at an end, the monks formed into a line which was brought to a close by the Reverend Father and myself, in order to conduct me in procession to my cell. The Psalms "*In exitu Israel de Egypto*" and the Miserere were sung on the way. The door of my cell being reached and opened, the Reverend Father first sprinkled the threshold with holy water, saying "Peace to this house," and then taking me by the hand led me upstairs, the community following, to the prie-dieu in the inner room, which prie-dieu together with the stall, forms what is called the *Oratorium*. Here I knelt while the Prior continued to recite the prayers appointed by the ritual for the occasion. Finally he addressed me in the formula which admitted me to the privileges of a novice of the Order. "Don N., I place you in your cell and impose upon you



solitude and the labours of the Order for the remission of your sins. From time to time a monk will visit you to instruct you in those things of which a novice should not be ignorant." Upon this we all returned to church and sang Vespers.

From this time my monastic life began in real earnest. It would be needlessly tedious to the reader if I continued to describe in successive detail my life as a novice, and such a proceeding would obviously exceed the limits to which this paper must be confined. I shall, moreover, be able to thoroughly initiate him into the mysteries of monastic life by describing to him the occupations of, first, an ordinary or ferial day and night the nocturnal labours of the Order being by no means the least important, secondly, an extraordinary or festival day and night, indicating in each case the differences according to the time of year. To begin, then, with a ferial day. The monk charged with waking the brethren rings the bell at the door of the cell between half-past five and a quarter to six. The bell in question hangs over one's bed, and therefore can hardly fail to wake one. By half-past six the church bell is ringing for Prime of the day, followed by Tierce of Our Lady, or as it is called in the poetic phraseology of the Carthusian liturgy *Tierce de Beata*. These offices are recited in the *refectory*, the same ceremonies, such as bowing, uncovering the head, kneeling etc. being used as in choir.

The offices recited, the monk remains in prayer at his *oratory* until the bell summons him at a quarter to seven to the choir for the conventual mass, which is preceded by a quarter of an hour's silent adoration of the Blessed Sacrament. After this mass which is always sung if the monk be a priest he goes to say his own mass, if not, he goes to serve someone else's. Priest and server reciting together at the foot of the altar Tierce of the day before the commencement of the Holy Sacrifice. If he be the server he recites during mass *Sext de Beata* if the celebrant, he says that office after his thanksgiving. He returns to his cell at about 8-30 and spends the next half hour in making up bed and tidying his cell. At 9 he makes his meditation for half an hour the rest of the time till 10 being employed in manual labour. At 10 summoned thereto by the bell he recites

Sext of the day in his oratory, he then goes downstairs and fetches his dinner from the little cupboard or *guichet* as it is technically called, on the left of the outer door. He now recites a lengthy grace and then proceeds to eat his meal with, as far as my own experience goes, a remarkably healthy and vigorous appetite. Carthusian regulations are far too wisely ordered to burn the candle at both ends, and the meal is copious and excellently cooked, consisting of soup, fish, eggs, vegetables, cheese butter, and fruit, washed down by a bottle of pure red Burgundy. Dinner is succeeded by an hour and-a-half's recreation which could be spent very pleasantly in the summer in the garden, then half-an-hour's spiritual reading followed by study generally of some commentary on Scripture till 2. At 2 manual labour, and at 2-30 the bell sounds for *Vesperes de Beata* in the oratory. At a quarter to 3 the solitary leaves his cell for the second and last time in the day to sing Vespers of the Great Office and Matins of the Dead in Choir.

Returning to his hermitage about 4, he studies for half an hour, and then eats his supper consisting generally of an omelette and a little salad and fruit. After supper half-an-hour's recreation followed by half-an-hour's examination of conscience and spiritual reading called in the Order the 'Recollection'. At a quarter to 6 Compline both of the day and *de Beata* recited in the oratory and then at the pleasantest time of the day in the summer, to bed. Nor is it too early, for at a quarter to 11, he is again waked to recite Matins and Lauds *de Beata*, he spends the remaining time till the great bell sounds, in silent prayer and at a quarter to 12 goes to Choir to sing Matins and Lauds of the night and Lauds of the Dead. Returning to his cell about a quarter-past 2, the Carthusian recites *Prime de Beata*, and again retires to his hard-earned repose till half-past 5. In the case of novices a simply professed monk comes during the time allotted to manual labour in the morning to give instruction in the use of the lathe, etc., and during the recreation we went two or three times a week to the Novice Master's cell for a singing class. These little distractions were greatly prized at first as also the daily visits to and from the Novice Master. The difference of regime in the winter consisted in

the fact that dinner was an hour later and None was said before, the supper consisting of any fragments of dessert the monk liked to save from dinner. This was during the Fast of the Order, lasting from the 14th of September (the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross) till Ash Wednesday, when the Fast of the Church began, which involved the singing of Vespers in Choir before the 12 o'clock dinner, and a supper consisting of a small piece of bread and a glass of wine. *Frustulum panis ne potus nocent*, says the old statute.

A feast day involved greater changes, the whole of the divine office was sung in church, and the meals were taken in the refectory. During dinner a monk sang portions of Scripture, arranged in such a manner that the whole of the Bible was read through either in Church during the lessons of Matins, or in the refectory once a year. The night office on feast days was very much longer, the monks sometimes rising as early as ten and returning to their cells as late as a quarter to three.

"The world is crucified to me and I to the world," cried St. Paul, and the Carthusian re-echoes across the long ages with the same quiet confidence the Apostle's boast. For day after day passes and no change comes for the son of St. Bruno, who watches for the Dayspring alone, "a sparrow on the housetop." To-day is followed by to-morrow, the precise fellow of to-day, and the variations in his life, afforded by the change of the season, the Church's calendar or cloistral rule recur so regularly as to be absorbed into the one cold, passionless stream of monastic monotony which carries him on to that great harbour by which all the days of his journeyings shall at length be swallowed up - that Day bright with the Everlasting Light when there shall be no more time.

One, however, of these variations I have not yet alluded to, and as it forms a marked characteristic of the life, it must not be passed over. I will ask the reader to accompany me one fine Monday morning to the Chapelle des Morts at about eleven o'clock. Dinner has been served earlier than usual, for to-day the weekly walk or *spatiamentum* is to be taken, a point of the rule the regular observance of which is felt, and justly, to be absolutely necessary to the due equilibrium of a healthy mind in a healthy body. The entire community is

assembled, and Father Vicar, having previously invoked the Holy Spirit, is reading a few sentences from the "Imitation of Christ."

The reading over, the monks go out in order of seniority. At the door they separate into two bands—the solemnly professed going with Father Vicar, the simply professed, who remain until they take their solemn vows, under the guardianship of the Novice Master with the novices. We walk on for two or three hundred yards in silence, until the Novice Master turns to the religious next him with the words, "*Lausletur Jesus Christus*" to which he receives the reply "*In secula seculorum*." This is the signal for general conversation, in all cases, however, preceded by the above formula, with which a Carthusian always prefaces any remarks he may make at any time, even to a Superior.

The reader, if he be a man of the world, his mind stored with the news of two hemispheres contained in his daily paper, with the *du dits* of his clubs, and the floating gossip of the *chronique scandaleuse*, political or otherwise, may question whether out of the meagre elements at their disposal Carthusians are able to construct any conversation at all. But there are many things in heaven and earth not dreamt of in the philosophy that rules among light-hearted favourites of the gods, and among these things we may assuredly reckon a Carthusian recreation. Let us return to our novices who entered the forest that clothes the slopes of the mountain. They are chatting merrily, now of their progress at the turning-lathe, now of the mistakes in choir of the new Postulant, or of the chances of his perseverance. (Postulants, as those disciples who have not yet received the monastic habit are called, not unnaturally form a never-failing topic of conversation.) But the Novice-Master is calling "Silence," and a young monk mounts on a boulder and relates in simple language some events from the life of a Saint. The impromptu sermon over, the orator, whose rôle is taken in weekly turn by each member of the noviciate, is thanked by all and the walk continues. Here some novices are hanging on the words of an old monk, (for many enter the Order late in life) who was decorated for his valour in the war of '70. He is perhaps relating an incident of frequent occur-



rence, the rescue of the Blessed Sacrament from the heretical hands of the Prussian soldiery, or some piece of sharp hand-to-hand fighting in which he himself has taken part. Yonder some monks and novices, among whom we may notice the Novice Master enjoying himself as much as anyone, are laughing heartily over a story told by an old man who was for many years a village curé before he retired to the Chartreuse to prepare for death. It was a story he was fond of telling and as it is a fair type of "good story" permitted and indeed highly appreciated *en Chartreuse*, the reader may pardon my inserting it. There was a village where both M. le Maire and the schoolmaster, the two most important personages in a French village, had obtained their offices mainly through their anticlerical opinions. The Préfet of the department being engaged in filling up the lunacy statistics had occasion to ask the Maire how many insane persons there were in his village. The Maire, whose qualifications for his post were comprised in one word anticlericalism, not knowing the meaning of the word "imbécile," went and asked the schoolmaster. That worthy replied "'*Imbécile*?' The folk who go to mass, of course." The good Maire accordingly repaired the next Sunday to the parish church and counted heads. He then wrote as follows to the Préfet. "M. le Préfet, out of a population of 500 we have 350 imbéciles, I do not include M. le Curé since it is his vocation." Others would talk of their studies, questions of date and authenticity being sometimes hotly discussed. But while we have been listening to the monks' conversation, we have reached a tiny shrine of the Madonna known as "Notre Dame de la forêt." Here we kneel down and pray a little, and then a happy inspiration occurring to one of the monks, he intones the 'Ave Maris Stella,' which we all take up, singing it in parts with a pleasant effect. The little rock-hewn shrine stained yellow-grey with moss and lichen, hung round with quaint exvotos (little waxen limbs and small pictures representing miraculous escapes from danger), peeps through the snow which covers the hills like a white velvet pall; here and there pierce giant rocks, black as iron, looking in their weird deformity like the maleficent Genii of the place struck into unpotent stone by the spell of Christian holiness. Through the branches of the black-plumed pines the wind

croons a wailing requiem over the white-shrouded Brethren, dead and buried past recall, though their pulses have not yet ceased to tingle.

We go a little further and reach the crest of the hill, from which we look over a wide valley in which we can detect through the shifting folds of the mist an occasional village. The Novice Master seems lost in thought: suddenly he turns to us and says, "My sons, there are souls in those villages we see at our feet who will be tempted to-day: let us say an Our Father and a Hail Mary that one mortal sin less may be committed there." We do so, and then turn homewards, arriving at the monastery in time for vespers.

The reader has now a clear notion of the externals of Carthusian life. But what of the spirit that informs them? What are the inmost thoughts of these solitary men, "silent while years engrave the brow?" What is the motive of these fastings, these tears, these vigils? To the Carthusian a blasé egotist who flies "no matter where out of the world" in search of a new sensation, or a cynic from mankind whose seclusion is the result of a hopeless pessimism. To these questions I will endeavour to reply shortly, relying on the principle that I have hitherto followed in this paper that the facts themselves form their own best advocate.

It is not necessary to recapitulate the principles that have guided mystics of all creeds and ages: the Carthusian is a perfect type of mysticism within the fold of the Catholic Church. Adoration and love of the good God, good in Himself and good to His children, the marriage of the soul by voluntary privation to the Divine Ascetic of Golgotha in order to co-operate with Him in the task of saving humanity: constant intercession in union with the Mater Dolorosa for the follies and sins of mankind, these tasks make up the lifework of the Carthusian. At midnight, while men are plunged either in sleep or feverishly pursuing the pleasures of sin with their "infinite sadness" he wends his lonely way through the chill cloisters to the church, where he unites with his brethren in gravely modulated chant. Let us take our stand in the visitors' gallery and listen for a moment to these songs of Zion. The monks have entered and taken their places, and are standing white and motionless in their stalls, the church is in darkness

except for the faint glimmer of the sanctuary lamp. At length the Prior gives the signal, and through the silence of the night rises the pathetic everlasting cry of the children of men to their Father in Heaven "O God incline unto mine aid," the deep toned voice of the community continue the inspired words "Lord, hasten to my help," and then profoundly bowing in lowly admiration, "Glory be to the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost." And for two hours and more in alternate psalm and canticle these men of God will plead the cause of their brothers before the Throne of Infinite Mercy. Do you ask why this celibacy, why this self-sacrifice? What is seemly and right for the mass of men is not for those who have been caught up into the third heaven and there make intercession. the solemn duties of these high priests of humanity necessarily exclude the love of woman, the holy joys of paternity, and far more a life of unheroic though permitted comfort. To bear up under these stern conditions of life needs a clear, well-balanced mind, a spirit "touched to the finest issues," a stout courageous heart, quite incompatible with the hysterical fanaticism ascribed to the typical monk by hostile romancers. It is an old and true saying that one half of the world knows very little about the other, let the sceptical reader accompany me into a neighbouring cell to my own and see for himself. There kneels in prayer an aged man who was once an illustrious general\* of the Russian Empire. When in middle life he resigned the helmet for the cowl, so invaluable had been his services to his country that the Czar wrote him an autograph letter thanking him for them and settling on him a handsome pension for life. His form is bent nearly double with years, but the northern blue eyes flash as keenly as ever, while round the firm mouth plays a kindly half-humorous smile that shows that its wearer has gauged all human ambitions at their true value. Again let us visit that other cell two doors farther on, over the door are inscribed the touching words from Holy Writ, "He shall give his beloved sleep." We ring and a tall martial figure answers our summons. Our host this time was not many years ago an officer in the French Artillery, while he is

\* Since the above lines were written I have heard of the death of this great man. R. V. P.



courteously showing us over his tiny hermitage, let us glance at his story which he himself would never tell us. At an unusually early age he passed first out of the *Ecole Polytechnique*, and obtained his commission in the artillery. After a few years in the service he manifested an overpowering desire for solitude. He obtained leave, and retired to the *Grande Chartreuse*. His father, however, would not admit the reality of his son's vocation, and followed him to the monastery, where he showed so strong an objection to his becoming a religious that the Superior urged the would-be monk to respect for the time at least his father's wishes. He did so and returned to his regiment. In a year's time, during which he had obtained not only the cross of the *Legion of Honour*, but also his captaincy, an unprecedented step for so young an officer, and due only to his own merits, his father asked him whether his desire for monasticism was as strong as ever. On the young captain's replying in the affirmative the paternal veto was removed, and this time he was able to follow his vocation unopposed. He returned to the *Chartreuse* and laid his captain's commission and his cross on the table before the Reverend Father, with these simple words: "I return to you, Father, and give to God these things that I have gained in the meantime." There is now no holier monk in the convent. One more picture of Carthusian life, and I have done. We are in the Sacristan's cell adjoining the church, and the old man who for some thirty years has filled the office most coveted by the monk (for the post of Sacristan involves the special guardianship of the Lord's Body) lies dying. The community has assembled to support the "athlete of Christ" in the throes of his final struggle. The last sacraments have been administered, and the face of the dying saint is lit up with faith and devotion, for One fairer than the sons of men has come into that lowly cottage, and has taken His servant by the hand to lead him through the dark river. One by one the monks approach the little bed, and leaning over, kiss the sunken cheek, not forgetting their messages for Paradise. At last all is over, and the great bell tolls for the office of the dead. On the morrow we bury him, committing his body coffinless and clothed in his habit as he had lived to the ground where lie so many generations of



Carthusians, and a strange supernatural joy thrills the hearts of the brethren at the thought that one so recently among them now stands in the Holy City, face to face with the King in His beauty. Many an invocation will go up to Don Eugène in the days that follow, though they will not be unmingled with prayers for his soul's repose, for the Church in her prudence warns us that the holiness of even the best of us is but dull and smirched in the radiance of the infinite Purity. So live and die the Carthusians, and if we do not sympathise with their aims we can at least pay their courage the tribute of our reverence. The ascetic type is not popular, nor is it likely to become dangerously so in the immediate future. To dream of angels in a materialistic age is not a passport to social success; may it not, however, be remotely possible that the Carthusian may have chosen the better part which shall never be taken away from him?

ALGAR THOROLD.

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## ANGLICAN WRITERS AND THE COUNCIL OF EPHESUS.

A PECULIAR importance attaches to the Council of Ephesus, in an historical point of view, from the fact that it is the first of the Œcumenical Councils of which we have anything like a full and unquestioned narrative. Accordingly, we propose to test the Anglican theory of unity and independence by the history of this Council.

It must be remembered that that theory regards the most complete severance from the Apostolic See as compatible with membership in the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church; and that it appeals especially to the Church of those four General Councils, which St. Gregory compared to the four Holy Gospels. We propose, therefore, to show from a review of the Council and of the most prominent Anglican writers on the same, that nothing but the most complete misinterpretation of the Acts of the Council, could enable them to consider the above theory as in harmony with the teaching of the early Christian Church.

It will be seen that, in their accounts, some prominent features of the Council's witness have been slurred over, and others distorted; that the salient feature of the Council, so far as the government of the Church is concerned, has been ignored and explained away. And in showing this, we shall impute no motives; we shall simply state the facts of the case. Our hope is that some Anglican reader of these lines may be led to reconsider his position, on seeing that that position cannot be justified by an appeal to the principles which governed the Church's life in the age of the two first Councils, whose Acts are fully recorded. We desire no mere dialectical victory; but that some earnest soul, which desires to live true to the Incarnate Word, may see that the truth of His Holy Incarnation was safeguarded by an institution of His own, and the Christian people were bound together in unity of Faith by a form of government, which was recognised as *from Him*, and which is to be found to-day only in the Holy Catholic and Roman Church.

The Council was concerned with the question of the union of the two natures in the One Divine Person of our Redeemer. Was it a substantial or an accidental union? The whole question of the world's salvation hung upon the answer. Both St. Celestine and St. Cyril emphasize this fact. St. Celestine, the Pope, in his letter to Nestorius says that "we complain that those words have been removed (*i.e.*, by Nestorius) which promise us the hope of all life and salvation." St. Cyril again and again strikes the same note. Dr. Salmon would have done well to have remembered this in his criticisms\* on the great champion of the faith, St. Cyril, of Alexandria.

Up to the time of the Council of Ephesus expressions† had been used concerning the union of the two natures in Christ which were meant in an orthodox sense, but which were liable to misinterpretation. St. Ignatius had spoken of Christ as "bearing flesh;" Tertullian had described Him as "clothed with flesh;" and the early Fathers had often used the word "mixture" (*κρᾶσις*), of the union of the two natures.

But a term had been in use, which, if rightly understood, safeguarded the truth of the *ἑνωσις* of the two natures. We mean of course the term *Θεοτόκος* or Mother of God, as applied to our Blessed Lady. The term had not been as thoroughly sifted, and authoritatively explained by the Church, as it was destined to be, owing to the heresy of Nestorius: but, as the Patriarch of Antioch bade Nestorius reflect, it had been in frequent use.

Nestorius had entered upon his career as Archbishop with the boast that if the Emperor would give him the earth cleared of heretics, he would give him heaven in exchange; and that if His Imperial Majesty would assist him in putting heretics to rout, he would assist him to do the same with his Persian foes. He was inexcessably cruel to his heterodox subjects, but he soon himself plunged into a heresy, which cut at the root of the Christian faith attributing to our Divine Lord a human personality, and thereby denying the substantial union between the two natures. His writings found then way into Egypt, which was in the Patriarchate of Alexandria, presided

\*Infallibility of the Church, p. 312.

†Cf. Catholic Dict., Council of Ephesus.

over at that time by the great St. Cyril. St. Cyril was consequently bound to take notice of the danger, and a correspondence ensued between him and Nestorius. St. Cyril, at length, appealed to Pope St. Celestine. He held off from this final step as long as he could, from the same feeling as St. Celestine himself expressed when he said that he could have wished never to have seen the letters of Nestorius, "lest I should be compelled to pass judgment on so serious a matter."

St. Celestine was a man full of zeal for the faith, and of great piety, judging from his beautiful letters.

Dr. Wordsworth appeals to him as the best judge of Cyril's character and conduct, although he mistakes Celestine's share in the affair of Nestorius. He says,

Perhaps there could not have been a more impartial judge of the parties in the struggle than the Bishop of Rome. Celestine was a calm spectator of the controversy, and in a review of it, it may be well to enumerate his letters as indicative of his bearing with regard to it, and also as a summary of its history.\*

We shall presently see that St. Celestine was by no means a mere "spectator of the controversy," and that his letters by no means bear out Dr. Wordsworth's general review of the Council. But he shows a true instinct in taking the Pope's estimate of St. Cyril, in preference to that of the latter's enemies, as Dr. Salmon does.† For St. Celestine's estimate is that of all after time. "The Bishop of Rome" says Dr. Wordsworth, "did not suppose Cyril to have been actuated by any unworthy motives in this controversy."

St. Celestine on being appealed to by St. Cyril at once convoked a Synod, as was customary with the Bishops of Rome, and gave St. Cyril a full and emphatic answer. He authorised him to act for him judicially. So far St. Cyril's action towards Nestorius had been an office of charity, not an act of jurisdiction. He did not think that he would do well to excommunicate him from his own Church without consulting Celestine, although he says he might legitimately have done that much. When he wrote to the Egyptian monks he was writing

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\* Wordsworth's Church History, Vol. IV. pp. 232-3.

† loc. cit.



to people within his own jurisdiction\*. But he had now laid the matter before one who could deal with cases that concerned the whole Church, and with the question of deposition as well as excommunication. The correspondence that passed between Alexandria and Rome on this occasion is, however, so important that at the cost of repetition, we will give a summary of the two letters.

St Cyril begins with giving his reason for breaking the silence which he had kept as long as he dared. The ancient customs of the churches (he says) persuade us to communicate such matters to your Holiness. I, therefore write of necessity. Nestorius, (he says) from the commencement of his Episcopate has been disseminating amongst his own people, and the strangers who flock to Constantinople from all quarters absurd ideas, contrary to the faith. He has sent Nestorius' homilies to Celestine. It was in his mind to tell him at once that he could no longer hold communion with him but he thought it better to hold out to him a helping hand first and exhort him by letters. Nestorius, however, only tried in every way to circumvent him. At last a Bishop, named Dorotheus exclaimed in Nestorius' presence, "If any one shall call Mary the mother of God, let him be anathema." A crisis was reached by this expression. A great disturbance arose amongst the people of Constantinople. With few exceptions they refrained from Communion—nearly all the monasteries and great part of the senate for fear of receiving harm to their faith. He found, moreover, that Nestorius' writings had been introduced into Egypt, and in consequence had written an encyclical to the Egyptian monasteries to confirm them in the faith. Copies of this finding their way to Constantinople, Nestorius had resented Cyril's action. He accused Cyril of having read the Fathers wrongly. Cyril wrote direct to Nestorius with a compendious exposition of the faith, exhorting him to conform to this. All the Bishops, says Cyril, are with me especially those of Macedonia. Nestorius, however considered that he alone understood the Scriptures. While all orthodox Bishops and Saints confess Christ to be God and the Virgin to be the mother of God Θεοτόκος, he alone who denies this is supposed forsooth, to be in the right.

\**Cy Antilebronius vindicatus.* Pt. 1, p. 508.

The people of Constantinople now began, says St. Cyril, to look for aid outside their province. St. Cyril felt that a "dispensation was entrusted to him," and that he should have to answer on the day of judgment for silence in this matter. He does not, however, feel that he can confidently withdraw himself from communion with Nestorius before communicating these things to his Holiness.

Deign, therefore, to decide what seems right (*τιπῶσαι το δίκαιον*), whether we ought to communicate at all with him, or to tell him plainly that no one communicates with a person who holds and teaches what he does. Farther, the purpose of your Holiness ought to be made known by letter to the most religious and God loving Bishops of Macedonia, *and to all the Bishops of the East*, for we shall then give them, according to their desire, the opportunity of standing together in unity of soul and mind, and lead them to contend earnestly (*ἐπαγωνισάσθαι*) for the orthodox faith which is being attacked. As regards Nestorius, our fathers, who have said that the Holy Virgin is the Mother of God, are together with us, who are here to-day involved in anathema. For although he did not like to do this with his own lips, still, by sitting and listening to another, viz: Dorotheus, he has helped him to do it: for immediately on coming from the throne he communicated him at the holy mysteries. He (St. Cyril) has therefore sent his Holiness the materials for forming a judgment.

St. Celestine in a beautiful letter, in answer, expresses his joy in the midst of sadness, at Cyril's purity of faith. He endorses his teaching, and embraces him in the Lord, as present in his letters. Still we are of one mind concerning Christ our Lord! He compares Cyril to a good shepherd, and Nestorius not even to a hireling, but to a wolf, who is destroying his own sheep. Our Lord Jesus Christ, Whose own "generation" is questioned, shows us that we should toil for one sheep, how much more for one shepherd! We ought, therefore—

To shut him out from the sheep, unless there is hope of his conversion. This we earnestly desire. But if he persists, an open sentence must be passed on him. For a wound, when it affects the whole body, must be at once cut away. For what does he with those who are of one mind amongst themselves— he who considers that he alone knows what is best, and dissents from our faith? Let then all those, whom he has removed remain in communion (with the Church) and give him to understand that he cannot be in communion with us, if he persists in this path of perversity in opposition to the Apostolic teaching. *Wherefore assuming the authority of our Sec. and acting in our stead, and place, with delegated authority* (*ἐξουσία*), you shall execute a sentence of this kind (*ἐκβύσσειν ἀποφανεί*)

act without strict severity, viz., that unless within ten days after this adjuration of ours, he anathematizes, in written confession, his evil teaching, and promises for the future to confess the faith concerning the birth of Christ our God, which both the Church of Rome and that of your Illyriacs, and the whole Christian religion preaches, forthwith your Illyriacs will provide for that Church. And let him know that he is to be ~~altogether~~ removed from our body. . . . We have written the same to our brothers and fellow bishops John, Rufus, Juvenal, and Flavian, whereby our judgment concerning him, *yea rather, the judgment of Christ our Lord*, may be manifest.

It would be impossible to endorse with greater emphasis the claim involved in the papal supremacy, as understood at this hour, than is done by these two letters. "Confirm thy brethren" was the Divine injunction to the Prince of the Apostles, "I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not, thou in thy turn, confirm thy brethren." Celestine was now exemplifying this law of the Church's life. Dr. Dollinger parodies the Church's application of their text to the successor of St. Peter, when he calls it "far from being a guarantee of infallibility for every single dictum on an article of ecclesiastical doctrines." No theologian ever laid down such a childish application, nor did the Church ever call on Dr. Dollinger to believe it. He insinuates the same absurdity, when he says "the exhortation that Peter should strengthen his brethren by no means involves a promise that he would really do so *in every single instance*"\*. But our Lord promises the security arising from His own prayer, and that security need not be and never was stretched to include "every single instance."

It will be admitted, however, that in the subject matter of Celestine's letter, the very foundations of our holy Faith were concerned. And Celestine did but add one more to the number of saintly Popes who had already been conspicuous for the support they rendered to the rest of the orthodox Bishops in the defence of the great mystery of our Faith—*eg.* St. Dionysius to one Bishop of Alexandria previous to the Arian struggle. St. Julius to another the great Confessor Bishop of Alexandria in the midst of that struggle. St. Damasus to the Bishops in general in the struggle with the Macedonian

\* *Declarations and Letters on the Vatican decree.* Eng. trans., p. 12.

heresy—and now St. Celestine to St. Cyril. And in each case the support was rendered by the See of St. Peter less in the way of argument than by a simple faithfulness to the tradition of the Church, more, that is, in a Divine than a human way, more by authority than skilful dialectic. Dr. Dollinger, in his time of rebellion against the Holy See, not unfrequently expressed his contempt for those who did not use the weapon of argument in the same way that he thought he could use it himself. He did, in fact, publicly dub with the name of “unscientific” all who disagreed with himself,\* and he offered to enter upon a great public argument with his Archbishop and the Holy See in his long letter in reply to a call to submission.† But the Church lives on authority, not on argument, even as our Lord “spake as one having authority,” and not as the Scribes and Pharisees, with all their subtle dialectic. Dr. Dollinger is anxious, in his “Declaration” recently published in English, to give the palm of theological acquirement to the East which gave birth to Arianism, Apollinarianism and Nestorianism. He will, however, hardly undo the brilliant work which he was enabled to do, whilst championing the Catholic Faith. In his “Declarations, &c.” he speaks of the East “as having gradually overcome all false doctrines.” But he gives no new facts, whereas the opposite picture, drawn by himself in the zenith of his powers, bristles with facts. It is curious how Anglican writers seem to exult in the gratuitous assumptions and bitter lucubrations of the Professor’s old age, to the neglect of the splendid literary productions of his younger days. And of all characteristics of his later writings the most painful is the continual exaltation of intellect to the disparagement of simple faith. A few pages further on he quotes St. Agatho’s interpretation of the text from St. Luke, which we have just alluded to, and speaks of the Saint as “coupling with it the confession that at that time theological ignorance prevailed at Rome.”‡ What St. Agatho really said was, that he sent to the Sixth Council Legates who were not versed in subtle interpretations of the Scriptures, such as had so frequently led the East astray nor

\* Cf. the *Times*, Jan. 18th, 1890.

† Cf. his letter to the Archbishop of Munich in *Declarations, &c.*

‡ *Declarations &c.*, p. 13.



were they illustrious in eloquence, but they had something better viz., a full knowledge of the "tradition of the Apostolic See" as it has been maintained by my predecessors, the Apostolic Pontiffs. This was real history: and this they possessed. Nestorius evinced the same contempt for the Holy See, when condemned by it, that Dr. Dollinger did, and spoke slightly of St. Celestine. Every one agreed that he was a man of piety, **but** he never parades his learning. Nestorius called him "one too simple to fathom the force of the doctrines." But as Dr. Pusey well remarks,\* "It did not occur to Nestorius that Divine truth is seen by simple piety, not by proud intellect." The letters of Celestine are not devoid of argumentative power at times: they are, however, more the letters of a man of strong character in high authority than of the dialectician or the orator. He writes as one steeped in the writings of Prophets, Evangelists and Apostles. This particular letter to St. Cyril played a most important part in the history of Christian doctrine: for it was referred to as authoritative by the Council itself.

The two letters together, St. Cyril's and St. Celestine's, contain the following important points.

It was an "ancient custom," according to St. Cyril, for such important matters as the deposition of a heretical Archbishop of Constantinople, to be referred to Rome. St. Cyril says that he writes to Rome "as a matter of necessity." He does not even separate Nestorius from Communion with his own Patriarchate, until he has written to Rome.

He asks St. Celestine to prescribe what he judges best in the matter, to give the *formal decision* on this important case and to notify his decision to all the Bishops of the East. Canon Bright merely calls this writing in "very deferential terms"† to the Bishop of Rome. Would it not surprise some of his Anglican readers to know *how* deferential the terms of St. Cyril's letter were? He uses a word which occurs again and again in the acts of the Councils in reference to the relation of the Pope to the condemnation of Nestorius, asking him *την ὁμολογίαν τὸ δοκεῖν*—words which are a sort of refrain for a

\* Introd. to some works of Cyril, p. 64. Lib. of the Fathers.

† Dict. of Chr. Biog. Art. Cyril, p. 766.

year to come. They form the keynote to the proceedings at Ephesus. Bossuet remarks upon this expression, that

It signifies, in Greek, to declare juridically: *τίπος* is a rule, a sentence, and *ἐκπῶσαι τὸ δόγμα* is to declare one's opinion judicially. The Pope alone could do it. Neither Cyril, nor any other Patriarch, had the power to depose Nestorius, who was not their subject: the Pope alone did it, and no one was found to exclaim against it, because his authority extended over all.

Next, St. Celestine adopts throughout his letter to Nestorius, sent with the above letter to Cyril, the same tone of authority as he uses in writing to Cyril. He writes with affectionate anxiety for Nestorius, but with the authority of office. He has no doubt about his prerogative of infallibility in such a matter, and does not hesitate to express his conviction.

Dean Church, in defending \* his position and that of others, who appeal to the Early Church, says that he finds only a mitigated measure of authority "in the early and undivided Church, and there was no such thing known as Infallibility." And this he calls "a certain fact," including in the early and undivided Church the time of the great Councils. Dean Church's "certain fact," however, dissolves into a pure assumption, in view of the history of this third Council. It is confronted with 'certain facts,' involving the consciousness of Infallibility on the part of Popes, and the recognition of it on the part of orthodox Patriarchs, long before the Council of Ephesus, but its recognition is so marked in the history of this Council, that the entire ground on which Dean Church and his friends, who remained in the Establishment, professed to stand, proves to be the veriest quicksand.

St. Celestine, on being appealed to by St. Cyril to formulate the decision as to Nestorius' excommunication and deposition, at once assumes his infallibility in such a grave matter. The Vatican decree does not go beyond his words, when he says of his own sentence on Nestorius, that it is not so much his, but rather it is 'the Divine judgment of Christ our Lord,' and again to the Patriarch of Antioch, he says, "and let your Holiness know this sentence is passed by us, yea, rather by Christ (our) God." Just as afterwards the Synod writing to the Clergy of

\* The Oxford Movement, by Dean Church, p. 187.

Constantinople calls the executed sentence, being that of Pope and Council together "the just sentence of the Holy Church and their divinely inspired judgment."

And again, Celestine is here pronouncing judgment as to what is preached by the 'whole Christian religion' and decides to cut off Nestorius from the common unity.

Now, how is this all-important letter dealt with by Anglican writers?

Dr. Wordsworth speaks of it as being simply a statement of 'the orthodox doctrine of the western fathers' upon the controversy.\* Celestine, however, states that he is giving the doctrine of the Church of Rome and Alexandria and 'the whole Christian religion,' or, as he expresses it in his letter to Nestorius (going over the same ground), "the universal Church." Canon Bright† describes it thus (the italics are ours)

Celestine gave Cyril a commission of stringent character (Mansi iv., 1017). He was "to join the authority of the Roman See to *his own*," and on the part of Celestine, *as well as for himself*, to warn Nestorius that unless a written retraction were executed within ten days, giving assurance of his acceptance of the faith as to "Christ our God," which was held by the Churches of Rome and Alexandria, he would be excluded from the communion of those Churches, and provision would be made by them for the Church of Constantinople, *i.e.*, by the appointment of an orthodox bishop.

Now St. Celestine does not use the words "join the authority of the Roman See to *his own*," which Canon Bright gives as a quotation. There is nothing in the Latin or Greek corresponding to 'his own' words which would suggest something more than the papal decision as the source of authority‡. Neither does Celestine bid St. Cyril warn Nestorius 'on the part of Celestine as well as for himself.' He simply constitutes St. Cyril his "plenipotentiary," as Dr. Dollinger accurately expressed it§. Neither, again, does Celestine speak of the faith held by the Churches of Rome and Alexandria simply, but he adds that it is that of the entire Christian world or

\* Church History, vol. iv., p. 210.

† Dictionary of Christian Biography. Art. Cyril, p. 796.

‡ Greek *ἑαυτοῦ* Latin *ad seipsum* simply.

§ History of the Church, Period 2, Chap. iv., Sec. 3.

religion. And further, which is of much greater importance, he tells Nestorius in the same batch of letters which Cyril was to read and forward, that he will exclude him not from the communion of "those Churches" only, but from the communion also of the entire Christian Church. This latter point is of supreme importance, and we do not understand how Dr. Bright could omit it. In this very letter Celestine speaks of Nestorius being separated from "our body," by which from the contextual use of "our," he could not mean simply his own, nor only his own and Cyril's, but the whole body of the Church. Anyhow, in his letter to Nestorius, which St. Cyril was to read and forward, and which covers the same ground, the Pope says expressly that by this sentence, unless he retracts, he is cut off from the communion of "the whole Catholic Church (ab universalis te Ecclesie Catholice communione dejectum)." This is surely a vital point, and it is sorry history to tell the reader that Celestine had Cyril warn Nestorius that he was to be cut off from the communion of "those Churches," viz.: Rome and Alexandria, when, as a matter of fact, he was telling him that he was cut off from the communion of the whole Catholic Church. They are words, too, which recur. For in writing to the clergy and people of Constantinople, the Pope repeats the sentence in full, which Cyril is to pass on Nestorius. And while he speaks again of the faiths held not only by the Churches of Rome and Alexandria, but by "the whole Catholic Church," he says that Nestorius is to be "excommunicated from the entire Catholic Church." The same occurs once more in the Pope's letter to John of Antioch. The Pope there again speaks as clothed with infallible authority, calling his sentence "the sentence passed by Christ our God," and it cuts Nestorius off from "the roll of Bishops" (*Episcoporum certu*).

St. Celestine, then comes before us at the Council of Ephesus as the foundation of the Church in a crisis of her life, when the reality of our Lord's redemption was at stake. For this was the real point at issue, as he himself and St. Cyril distinctly stated. He is the "confirmer" of the brethren. He feeds, or governs, the sheep of Christ supplying them with the *Τόπος*, or authoritative judicial sentence, the form which was to govern their action. He resumes in himself the



Apostolic government of the Christian Church and uses the Patriarch of Alexandria, occupant of the second "throne" in Christendom, to execute his sentence. It was not then St. Leo who (to use Mr. Gore's expression), inaugurated "a school of thought" in accordance with "modern Roman" teaching on the subject of jurisdiction, and who, according to Dr. Littledale revolutionized the Church's teaching. Celestine taught the same half a century before. There is one expression occurring again and again in the Acts of the Council of Ephesus, which gives what might be called the Christian name of the Bishop of Rome. He is the Archbishop of "the Apostolic See or Throne." It is curious to notice how Anglican writers fight shy of this title. Now Rome is, it is true, according to the Acts the Apostolic Throne of greater, or old, Rome, but it is also what no other is, simply "the Apostolic See." It is a title accorded to her by Emperors, Empresses, Patriarchs, individual Bishops, and the entire Synod. Dr. Littledale, seeing the force of the expression pleaded in his "Petrine Claims" that there is no definite article in the Latin. But let any one translate the various passages, especially in St. Augustine and in the Acts of the Councils, with the indefinite article "an Apostolic See," and see what perfect nonsense results. Besides, in numerous instances, we have the Greek which does give the definite article. We are a little ashamed of having to notice so absurd an objection, but it is necessary to include Dr. Littledale amongst Anglican writers, from the fact that his writings have had an enormous influence on the Church of England. The See of Rome, then, was in 431, "the Apostolic See" hers was "the" Apostolic throne not, indeed to the exclusion of others, but in a super-eminent sense. During the Council of Ephesus as a matter of fact no other See is called Apostolical at all unless we except a doubtful passage in the speech of Juvenal of Jerusalem apropos of the action of John of Antioch in which he calls his See the Apostolic throne of Jerusalem but not simply "the Apostolic See." It will be as well therefore, to preface our account of the actual proceedings of the Council with a succinct explanation of the Catholic teaching as to the sense in which Rome is "the Apostolic See" in contradistinction to the other Sees of Christendom. For by this means we shall be able to see how

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the action of the Church at Ephesus bears out the teaching of Rome to day on this point.

The natural inference from the use of the term "the Apostolic See" as applied to Rome in the early councils is that the Apostolicity of the Church in the matter of government was vested in the See of Rome and flowed forth from thence to the rest of the Sees of Christendom. This is the explanation which St. Leo gives in his Sermon on St. Peter and St. Paul's day. Canon Bright admits that "on the whole, what Rome said in 431, amounts to this: 'All Bishops succeed the Apostles, but Celestine as heir of him, who was the foremost Apostle has a right to be foremost among Bishops.'"<sup>\*</sup> The question is of course, what constitutes the "foremost place," and by what sort of "right" does Rome hold it? What did the Church at that date mean by so persistently attributing to Rome the title "Apostolic?" Canon Bright says that in 431, "Rome did not say, as she now practically says, 'The Apostolic authority is concentrated in St. Peter's successor.'"<sup>†</sup> We are not quite sure what Dr. Bright means by "concentrated." But what is the explanation given by the history of the Council of Ephesus? It is as follows.

Celestine regarded himself and was considered by others, as occupant of "the Apostolic See." As such, he considered himself as, in a peculiar sense, clothed with Apostolic authority, which he exercised, for instance, in the act of deposing an Eastern Bishop, the Bishop of Constantinople, the Imperial City. No one in presence of the Acts of this Council will deny that much—viz. that he spoke of the authority of his See as Apostolic, and that Bishops (even Capreolus, of Carthage<sup>‡</sup>) speak of it as such, and that Celestine regarded his sentence as the judgment of God.

But he regards all the Bishops as also true successors of the Apostles.<sup>‡</sup> he rejoices in their gathering, he sees in their assembly a visible manifestation of the presence of the Holy Spirit, who is given to them all in common. He does not indeed say that all are *equally* partakers of the Holy Spirit, from an official point of view, that they all *equally* inherit

<sup>\*</sup> Church History, p. 336, note d.

<sup>†</sup> Cf. Ep. Capreoli ad Syn. Act I.

<sup>‡</sup> Cel. Ep. ad Syn. Act II.

the duties and graces of the Apostolate. Dr. Pusey, in his endeavours to find contradictions between Popes on matters of faith, says that Celestine, according to the "Roman" theory, must have been infallible when he said to the Council of Ephesus (the italics are his own) that—

The charge of teaching has descended [from the Apostles] *equally* upon all Bishops. We are all engaged in it *by an hereditary right*; all we who have come in their stead, preach in the name of the Lord to all countries in the world, according to what was said to them, "go ye and teach all nations." You are to observe, my brethren, that the order (mandatum) we have received is a general order or command, and that he intended that we should all execute it, when he charged them with it, as a duty devolving *equally* upon all. We ought all to enter into the labours of those *whom we have all succeeded in dignity.*"\*

Not the Pope alone (in Dr. Pusey's comment on this his translation) but according to Pope Celestine, the "assembly of priests is the visible display of the presence of the Holy Ghost."

Dr. Pusey here gives a turn to Celestine's words, which neither the Greek nor Latin expresses. Celestine does not say that the assembly of priests is "*the* visible display," but merely that it "manifests (*ἐμφανίζει* testatur) the presence of the Holy Ghost," which is true, on what Dr. Pusey calls the Ultramontane theory. Neither does St. Celestine use the word "equally" at all; he says "in common," and a gift received in common may be received in diversity of share. St. Leo expressly anticipates Dr. Pusey's misinterpretation of Celestine's words, and gives the answer to his objection:—

Quibus cum dignitas sit communis, non est tamen ordo generalis; quoniam et inter beatissimos apostolos in similitudine honoris fuit quædam discretio potestatis; et cum omnium par esset electio (exactly St. Celestine's teaching) uni tamen datum est, ut ceteris superemineret. †

As for its not being "the Pope alone," as Dr. Pusey puts it, no one ever supposed that the Pope enjoys a monopoly of the gifts of the Holy Spirit for the purpose of teaching or governing. The same remark applies to what Canon Bright says—

It is certain that Celestine knew nothing of the theory which is now called "Ultramontane." He recognised Apostolic authority in all bishops alike.

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\* Eirenicon p. 307.

† S. Leonis Ep. Ed. Ballerini, col 691.

It is curious that in the text,\* to which this is a note, Canon Bright, in giving the applauses of the Bishops at the Council, omits precisely the exclamation, which suggests the peculiarity of the Pope's position. The Bishops called Celestine "the guardian of the faith." Canon Bright omits that. If by the word "alike," in the above note he means "equally," then he is contradicted by the whole of Celestine's conduct at the Council, and by the end of this very letter, as interpreted by Bossuet, who gives what must be admitted to be the interpretation that at any rate lies on the surface. If Dr. Bright does not mean "equally," viz., that all Bishops enjoyed, according to Celestine, equal Apostolic authority, but uses the word "alike" simply as redundant, he misinterprets the teaching to which he alludes. No Catholic theologian denies that the Bishops "all" enjoy Apostolic authority. As Hettinger expresses it,† "All receive the same authority, but not all in the *same degree* or to the *same extent*." And as the same writer observes elsewhere, this does not the less make the Bishops true Bishops and true successors to the Apostles. For it will be admitted that Timothy and Titus were true Bishops, and yet they were under Apostolic authority. The Apostles had jurisdiction over the universal Church, and yet the Bishops appointed by them, under their jurisdiction were true Bishops, placed by the Holy Ghost to rule the Church of God. The share of the Episcopate in the Apostolate of the Church is thus described by Hettinger:—

We know where to find the Catholic Episcopate, the Episcopate of the true Church of Christ, by the approbation its teaching receives from the Apostolic See: for where the members are in communion with their head, there is the unity appointed by God, the Catholic Church. . . . The Primacy and the Episcopacy are both holders of the teaching office of the Church, but not *ex a quo*, *on a par*. The head must teach the members and oblige them to accept his teaching, but the converse does not hold.

Bossuet, who insisted strongly on the Apostolic authority of all Bishops, nevertheless writes:—

When Christ chose St. Peter to be the foundation of His Church, He

\* Church History, p. 336.

† Cf. "The Supremacy of the Apostolic See," by Hettinger. Eng. trans. Edited by Archbishop Porter, S.J. (Burns & Oates), p. 15.

‡ Do., Pt. 2, ch. 18.



created for him a superiority in the Church and conferred on him the fullest plenitude of authority and majesty, that he might keep all bound together in unity.

And he tells us that Celestine acted in the persuasion that he alone could judiciously deal with Nestorius. So that Dr. Pusey has no ground for translating Celestine's expression "in common" as though it were "equally," and Canon Bright is mistaken in supposing that the attribution of *special* authority to the Holy See annihilates the Apostolic authority of the rest of the Episcopate. And each of these writers is mistaken in supposing that St. Celestine held the equality of all Bishops in their possession of the Apostolic dignity. They held it, according to St. Celestine, in common, but not in equal measure.

The execution, then, of the Pope's sentence was left to Cyril. Cyril at once wrote to John, the Bishop of Antioch, on the state of things. He entreats him to consider what he will do. St. Cyril must have been well aware that he was treading on delicate ground for Nestorius had been recommended for the See of Constantinople by the Patriarch of Antioch. And the event proved how little John was to be depended upon. Cyril says:

We shall follow the decisions given by him (Celestine), fearing to lose the communion of such; (i.e., the whole West) who have not been and are not angry with us on any other account, considering, too, that the judgment and movement is not about matters of little moment, but on behalf of the very faith, and of the Churches which are everywhere disturbed, and of the edification of the people.

In other words, it was an *ex Cathedra* judgment. It was on a matter of faith.

John of Antioch began well, and wrote to Nestorius, on receiving the Papal decision, urging him to submit, on the ground that, although the time given by the Pope, viz., ten days, was indeed short, still it was a matter in which obedience need not be a matter of days even but of a single hour, and that the term "Mother of God," although capable of abuse, was one which the Fathers had used, and which, therefore, Nestorius could consent to use, attaching to it his own

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† *Def. decl. Cler. Gall.* xxi.

doubtless orthodox meaning. The letter, although urging obedience, differs in its tone from Cyril's, and gives us already a glimpse of a spirit that, subsequently led John of Antioch into schismatic action at Ephesus.

St. Cyril wrote also to Juvenal, of Jerusalem, exhorting him to assist in writing both to Nestorius and to the people in accordance with the prescribed decree (*ἀποσθαινα τύποι*) i.e., the papal decision; and suggested that pressure should be brought to bear upon the Emperors.

Meanwhile Cyril had summoned a Synod at Alexandria, and in conjunction with the Bishops, he drew up twelve anathematisms, which he forwarded to Nestorius with the papal sentence.

Nestorius, who had already appealed to the Pope to know what ought to be done about certain supposed disseminators of Apollinarian errors, with which he ceaselessly charged St. Cyril, replied with twelve counter anathematisms, full of erroneous doctrine. But he had devised another plan for staying the execution of the sentence. Like all heretics, he appealed to the civil power. In this he was probably prompted and joined by others, for there were at that time in Constantinople some disaffected spirits connected with Antioch. This city—that first heard the name of Christian applied to the followers of Jesus Christ—honoured by the Church as one of the three Sees of Peter—the third “throne” in Christendom—had long proved a nursery of heretical teaching and religious dissension. Nestorius himself came from Antioch. Whilst there, he had come across Theodore of Mopsuestia, the pupil of Diodorus, Bishop of Tarsus, who was the fountain, so far as we can trace things upwards of all the mischief which occasioned the Council of Ephesus. In opposing Apollinarianism, Diodorus had lost the balance of faith, and taught that the union of Godhead and Manhood in the Redeemer was not of substance with substance, but of two personalities, a union of name, authority and honour. Theodore imbibed his error, and so great and lasting was the magic of Theodore's name that his memory had to be condemned in the Sixth Council. Nestorius had come under Theodore's influence. John of Antioch, in urging Nestorius to obey the papal decision, alluded

to Theodore's withdrawal of certain erroneous expressions, as an encouragement. Being both of Antioch, they understood the value of such an appeal. But there was another of Theodore's pupils the Bishop Julian a fellow-countryman of Nestorius who entered into the lists with St. Augustine in favour of Pelagianism, and with the usual modesty of heretics, compared himself to David and Augustine to Goliath. This Julian had been deposed by the Holy See for his Pelagian teaching, and previous to the emergence of Nestorianism had found his way to Constantinople with some others in the hope of moving the Emperor to call a Council to reverse the sentence of the Pope. Two successive Bishops of Constantinople had refused to present him at Court. But it seems from Celestine's letter to Nestorius that the latter was on too friendly terms with Julian to please the Pope, and that but for his fear of Celestine he would have presented Julian to the Emperor. When the See of Constantinople was vacant Celestine had been anxious about its future occupant for this very reason, lest he should be one that would use his privilege of introduction in favour of such ecclesiastical "lepers" as Julian, and lead his Imperial Majesty to call a Council for no adequate reason, and so simply disturb the peace of the Church. St. Augustine and the African Church had expressed themselves satisfied with the ruling of the Holy See in regard to Pelagianism. The expression '*Roma locuta est causa finita est*' though not the actual words of St. Augustine, are the exact equivalent of what he did say. 'The rescripts have come,' *cc.* from Rome (which are St. Augustine's words) is the same as 'Rome has spoken,' and the 'case is finished' are his actual words. Capreolus, Bishop of Carthage, writing in the name of the African Church to the Synod goes out of his way to press this point, that the Bishops of Africa had accepted the decision of the Holy See, and that the Synod of Ephesus had no right to re-open matters already settled by such authority. He speaks of novel doctrines which the authority of the Apostolic See and the judgment of the Bishops agreeing together has defeated, and submits that to treat these as open questions would be to discover a lack of faith. It is not easy to determine exactly how much Capreolus intended to include in these doctrines which had thus been

"crushed." The expression "ante hac" seems to point to Nestorianism, as having been in his judgment practically crushed by the papal sentence and the agreement of so many Bishops, on the other hand the expression "indidit" seems to us conclusive in favour of the idea that Capricolus's words alluded to the endeavours of Julian and other Pelagians to re-open their case before a General Council. As a matter of fact, the Synod of Ephesus did allude to their case, not to re-open it, but to signify in express terms their adhesion "*en bloc*" to the decisions of the Holy See. Julian, however, hoped much from a Council and seeing his opportunity in the appointment of Nestorius to the See of Constantinople appears to have drawn him into a favourable inclination towards himself, which led him to sound Celestine as to what could be done in regard to such as Julian.\* There was indeed, a natural affinity between their heresies. "Where Pelagius ends, Nestorius begins" said St. Prosper, and "Nestorius erred concerning the head, Pelagius concerning the body," said a Council of Western Bishops.†

Nestorius then, probably assisted by Julian turned to the Emperor, and made for a General Council. St. Cyril had sent four Egyptian Bishops to Constantinople to deliver the letters of Celestine and himself to Nestorius with all due circumstance, and Nestorius seems to have been aware of their contents. But before they could reach Constantinople he had represented to the Emperor that the Church was in a state of disturbance, and needed the remedy of a General Council. Dr. Littledale says that "*the Pope joined in a petition to the Emperor to convoke a General Council as the only means of settling the dispute*"‡ —a flight of absurdity which we may leave to Canon Bright to correct who says that "Celestine and Cyril were obliged to acquiesce in the decision of the Emperor to convoke an (Ecumenical Synod to meet at Ephesus on the following Whitsunday (June 4th, 431) at the request of Nestorius." We do not know on what authority Canon Bright speaks of the Pope and St. Cyril as "obliged" to acquiesce. The state of things in Constantinople, owing to the presence of Julian and

\* Ep. Celest. ad Nest.

† Cf. Chr. Lupus Append. to Scholia on the Canons of Ephesus.

‡ Petrine Claims, p. 94.



other deposed Bishops, may have made Celestine reluctant; but the letter to the Synod is full of rejoicing at its gathering. However that may be, St. Celestine gave his consent, and St. Leo's summary of the Council is that it was "convoked by the precept of Christian Princes and the consent of the Apostolical See"—a summary which we prefer to Canon Bright,\* who does not mention "the consent of the Apostolical See."† Nestorius appears to have worked his plan well. He accused St. Cyril of Apollinarianism, and of generally disturbing the peace of the Church. And it is important to remember that it was to settle the question between Cyril and Nestorius, that the Emperor, Theodosius II., summoned the Metropolitans of the East and a certain number of attendant Bishops to Ephesus. It was with no idea of settling matters between Rome and Nestorius, for the Emperor had received no intimation of the sentence passed by Celestine. The idea in the mind of the Emperor was that Cyril should be on his trial as a disturber of the peace, and a restorer of Apollinarianism, and he probably expected Nestorius to take the prominent position. He disliked Cyril, and specially resented his attempt to secure the sympathy of the two Queens on the side of orthodoxy. He was just then growing jealous of Pulcheria's increasing influence and Cyril had written her a long and magnificent letter on the doctrine of the Incarnation. We know also from a letter of Cyril's that Nestorius hoped to be President. The Council was thus, as Dr. Pusey has well remarked a "device of Nestorius"‡ although it had been seconded by the monks who had been ill treated by him, and had urged the Emperor in their despair to convoke a general Synod. They did not know what had been done at Rome.

But on arriving at Ephesus some time before Pentecost

\*Bright's Notes on the Canons of the first four Councils, p. 110.

†Preface to Notes, &c., p. 6.

‡Dr. Pusey's account of the Council, written quite at the end of his life, as a Preface, or a continuation of his son's preface, to some works of St. Cyril, is, to our minds the best account of the Council that any Anglican has written. He very successfully clears St. Cyril from the aspersions on his character, which Dr. Salmon repeats. In this particular point, Dr. Wordsworth and Dr. Bright are honorable exceptions to the usual Anglican view of the great saint. Even Dr. Newman, in his Anglican days, falls far below these three writers in the matter. (Histor. Sketches.) And Dr. Salmon ought not to quote his estimate of Cyril, as that of 'Cardinal' Newman, without noticing the preface which he prefixed as Cardinal.

in the hope, doubtless, of influencing the inauguration of the Council, Nestorius was rudely undeceived by the attitude which Memnon, the Bishop of the Diocese, assumed at once towards himself and his episcopal sympathisers. The doors of St. Mary's Church were closed against them. They complained to the Emperor that they could not celebrate the Liturgy of Pentecost in the Churches of Ephesus. Bishop after Bishop on arriving must have strengthened Nestorius' conviction that the Papal sentence was accepted, and that the Bishops had come, as Count Candidian the Imperial Commissioner, afterwards complained\* not so much to investigate, as to execute a sentence already passed. Accordingly when the day came, Nestorius absented himself from the Synod. The day of Pentecost had come, and John, Patriarch of Antioch, had not arrived. Day after day passed, and no Bishop of Antioch. At length Bishops came with a message from him that they were not to wait. Some Bishops had already fallen ill, many felt the fearful pressure of the want of accommodation, and at last some of them died. As they said the Requiem Mass of one Bishop after another, the survivors must have felt keenly the cruelty of the Patriarch of Antioch's procrastination. They knew it to be of set purpose. The Synod in its report to the Emperor assured him of their conviction that John was delaying from the desire not to be present at Nestorius' condemnation. He allowed friendship to gain the day over zeal for the truth. Accordingly, the Bishops began to "cry out"† against Cyril for not beginning, and Cyril yielded to their wishes, himself convinced that John, of Antioch did not wish to be present. On the 16th day after Pentecost the Synod began its sessions. Dr. Salmon's caustic remarks on the disorderliness of the Councils of the Church certainly do not apply to the sessions themselves. He ignores the judicial orderly, and even majestic tone of the Synod itself, and gathers his description from circumstances that took place outside the walls of the church, and he relies for his "history" on the accounts of the schismatics, and further includes in the "Councils of the Church" the Robber Council of Ephesus which succeeded the

\* Cf. *Acta Concilii ad Cyrillum*.

† Cf. *Ep. Cyr. ad Cler. Constantin.*

(Œcumenical Council.\* No wonder he can speak so slightly of Councils when he confuses "concilia" and "conciliabula," and prefers the accounts of heretics to the narratives of the Synod itself. The letter of the Synod to the Pope would have quite spoilt his thesis, if he had taken that for his authority instead of the letter of the schismatics to the Emperor. The sessions of the Council were, as we have said, orderly, judicial, and majestic. Cyril presided in the name of Celestine—as plenipotentiary of the Pope,† to use the words of Dollinger†

According to Dr. Salmon, "the theory had not yet been heard of in the East, which would ascribe the headship of all Councils to the Bishop of Rome, present or absent."‡ The Bishops of Chalcedon, who asked for delay that they might understand and thus give an intelligent adhesion to the tone of St. Leo thought otherwise, for they speak of the Council of Ephesus as that "of which the most blessed Celestine—the president of the Apostolic chair and the most blessed Cyril of great Alexandria, were the governors or presidents" § whilst the Council of Chalcedon, in its definition of faith expressly says that the Council of Ephesus was presided over by "Celestine and Cyril." And the Emperors, in their letter after the Council of Chalcedon confirming the sentence against Eutyches and the monks who sympathised with him, speak of the Ephesine Synod as the occasion "when the error of Nestorius was excluded under the presidency of Celestine, of the city of Rome and Cyril, of the city of Alexandria." The Empress Pulcherra uses the same expression. We have, too, a large number of letters from various Bishops to the Emperor Leo, written after the Council of Chalcedon, in reference to the troubles at Alexandria under Bishop Timothy, most of which allude to the Council of Ephesus and attribute the presidency to Celestine as well as to Cyril. For instance certain European Bishops (and we presume that Dr. Salmon will not cite their witness out of court, coinciding as it does with the 600 Bishops of Chalcedon almost all of them Eastern) depose that the Council of Ephesus was gathered together "under

\* *Infall. of the Church*, p. 313 et seq.

† *Hist. of the Church Period II*, cap. iv, sec. 3.

‡ *Loc. cit.*

§ *Κεφάλαια*

Celestine, of blessed memory, the successor of the holy and venerable Peter, the guardian of the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and under Cyril, Pontiff of Alexandria, of holy memory." And the Bishops of the province of Isauria speak of Cyril, "who formerly governed the Church of Alexandria, and openly fought against the folly of Nestorius, and was partaker with blessed Celestine, the Shepherd of the *Safe* Church of the Romans." This latter, however, does not necessarily involve presidency. But Julian, Bishop of Cos, in his letter to the Emperor calls the Council of Ephesus that over which presided the thrice blessed "and most holy Fathers, Celestine Pontiff of the Roman city, and Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria." And again, the Bishops of Upper Armenia call the Council that "of which the presidents were Celestine and Cyril, . . . who chiefly shone for them against the wicked blasphemy of Nestorius." We can assure Dr. Salmon that these are but specimens of our notes from the letters of the Bishops and that only want of space prevents our multiplying them.

St. Celestine, then, was the real president of the Council, but he presided through St. Cyril, who sat in his name. Canon Bright says that Cyril presided "not in virtue of the commission from Celestine to act in his stead, which had already been acted upon in the Alexandrian Council of November—but as the prelate of highest dignity then present, and as holding the proxy and representing the mind of the Roman Bishop, until the Roman legates should arrive."\* But the Acts expressly state, again and again, that Cyril held not "the proxy," but "the place" of Celestine. And it does not follow, because the original commission had been "acted upon" in November, that it had been exhausted in June.

St. Cyril's position was probably due to two causes: First, as the Bishop of Alexandria, the second "See of Peter," he was the natural representative of the Bishop of Rome, and, secondly, he had been originally commissioned by Celestine to act "in our stead and place," in "the affairs" of Nestorius. Those "affairs" were not yet finished, and there had been no limitation in point of time, nor subsequent withdrawal, in

\* Dict. of Chr. Biogr., p. 706.



respect of his commission. That Cyril considered himself to be acting as the representative of Celestine, by his commission, appears from his question to Celestine, asking him what he should do in case of Nestorius' retraction. The commission did not express his duty in that event, and Cyril accordingly wrote, as we know from Celestine's letter,\* to know what his duty would be under such a happy circumstance. He wanted to know whether he should treat Nestorius as no longer a Bishop now that the ten days' grace had elapsed. It is certain from this that St. Cyril considered Celestine's sentence as final and that he only consented to deal with Nestorius as a Bishop by reason of Celestine's permission, which accorded to the heretic a fresh opportunity of retraction. St. Celestine says that he leaves that matter to Cyril, in conjunction with the Synod. "It belongs to your Holiness," are the Pope's words, "with the venerable counsel of the brethren, to put down the disturbances that have arisen in the Church, and that we should learn that the matter has been completed (God helping) by the desired correction." St. Celestine also says that if Nestorius continues in his sin, he will reap the fruit of what will be his own act, *invenitibus statutis prioribus*, the previous decisions remaining in force. It is, therefore, clear that the Pope's sentence was not so much suspended as devolved upon the Council. Had the Emperor been orthodox, and not caught by the wiles of Nestorius, he would not have been as keen about the Council as he was. The Pope, however, acted in accordance with the rule which St. Gregory the Great laid down in such matters, viz., that of submitting to the Imperial wishes when they did not run counter to the Canons. He expresses the fullest confidence in Cyril and the Council that they will execute the sentence he had passed, with the more solemn apparatus of a conciliar adhesion to the *τέπος* which he had sent to Cyril, Nestorius, and John of Antioch†. He looked upon Cyril as the teacher of the Council and virtually owns the commission originally given as still running. The Council therefore acted with the full permission of the Pope in utilising the Imperial convention for giving Nestorius every

\* Ep. Cel. ad Cyr. in fine. Act. ii.

† Ep. ad Syn. in fine.

chance of repentance before executing the original sentence, and St. Cyril acted under commission from the Pope.

There is a letter extant, written by two Alexandrian clerics towards the end of this century, and used by the episcopal legates from Pope Anastasius to the Emperor of the same name, which comprises the views of St. Cyril's position on which we have been writing. In this letter they say that "whenever in doubtful matters any Councils of Bishops are held, His Holiness, who presides over the Church of Rome, used to select the most rev. Archbishop of Alexandria to undertake the charge of his own place." In the case of the Ephesine Council, it was doubly natural that the patriarch of Alexandria should be "selected" by Celestine as being the foremost champion of the truth assailed, and as having already had to deal with it in Celestine's name.

There were also peculiar circumstances in this case which would have rendered it difficult for St. Cyril to have assumed that Presidency with any chance of success, unless he had had such a special intimation of the Pope's wish in the matter as we have given above, or felt that he was but continuing on the lines of the original commission from Celestine to execute his sentence. For that it was for this purpose that the Council, despite the ideas of the Emperor, considered itself convoked, will presently appear.

The circumstances that rendered the position peculiarly difficult for St. Cyril were these. At the first session, the Imperial letter, which called the Bishops together, appears to have been read, at the suggestion of Juvenal, Bishop of Jerusalem, by Peter, the Alexandrian notary, and the question was then asked how long an interval had elapsed since the day fixed by the Emperor for the meeting of the Synod. Meimon Bishop of Ephesus, gave the number of days, and, immediately upon this St. Cyril proposed that without further delay they should proceed to business, speaking of a "second decree" which he says had been read to them by Count Candidian, the Imperial representative. But there is no mention, in the Act, of this decree having been read. There is therefore a hiatus in the record, which has been either mutilated or abbreviated. But the account of the schismatic Synod held by John of Antioch on his arrival, supplies a key to

the missing portion of the record. That Synod laid the greatest stress on the infringement, by Cyril and Memnon, of the Imperial decree. Count Camblishan told them he had been induced to read that decree under great pressure. He wished to wait for John, before reading it, probably a device for putting off the Synod. But Cyril compelled him to read it, on the ground that otherwise they could not know the Emperor's desires. Now they knew apart from this, that the Emperor desired them to meet at Pentecost, and that all the Metropolitans available were to attend. The decree therefore could not have related solely or principally to that point. The copy, as we have it, is without the same formal ending as that which was read by Peter, and so we cannot be sure that we have the whole of it. Indeed, its recovery at all, is of late date and the two copies are not in perfect agreement. And Nestorius' letter to the Emperor adds one point which is not in the decree as we have it.

It would seem, then, that this decree (*θέμισμα*) which is to be distinguished from the letter (*γράμμα*) read by Peter, contained some fuller provision for the ordering of the Council which was set aside by the Council itself. The letters of the schismatics to the Synod, to the Emperors, to the Empress, to the Clergy of Constantinople, and to its Senate all speak of the violation of this Imperial decree. In the letter of the schismatics to the Emperor they speak of John's absence from the Synod under Cyril as contrary to his order, and add that the Council had also infringed the Imperial decree, as though in some further way.

In point of fact, we learn from St. Cyril that Nestorius had hoped to preside at the Council. The Emperor, we know, considered Cyril the guilty party. And it seems probable that Nestorius by accusing Cyril of Apollinarianism, and by his dexterous management of the Emperor, hoped to turn the Council into an occasion of examining Cyril. Count Irenæus, in writing to the Orientals, says that if the right order *i.e.* that which the Emperor prescribed, had been observed the constitution of the Council would have been different and the "Egyptian" (as he called St. Cyril) would not have had it in his power to condemn Nestorius. We may presume that

only two Bishops would have attended each Metropolitan,\* and those only such as, according to Nestorius' conceit, understood such matters,† and we know that Count Irenaeus also meant that Cyril *would not have sat as judge being himself one of those under trial* (οὐδὲ κρίνειν ὡς εἰς ὃν τῶν κρινομένων ἡδύνατο). nor, continues the Count, "would he have been able to touch the matter at all acting as he did, contrary to the judgment of the most noble Count Candidian" from which it is evident that Candidian's contention was that Cyril could not sit as judge of Nestorius. In fact the Imperial decree must have resembled that of Constantine in regard to the Council of Tyre, and the order of Theodosius later on by which he assigned the presidency of the Robber-Council to Dioscorus. All this was contrary to the Canons. And accordingly, at the Council of Ephesus, St. Cyril, either ignoring that part of the decree which related to the mode of procedure, and in obedience only to the rest, or by the expressed desire of the Council, or producing the commission he had received from Celestine, continued to occupy the president's seat, and the Council preferred the Canons and the papal appointment, to the Imperial decree. Candidian left the Council on the ground, as he said afterwards,‡ that he considered the Imperial decree was not going to be obeyed. He had been compelled by Cyril to read the decree against his wish. And he must have seen very plainly that the condemnation of Nestorius was a foregone conclusion. There is no reason, on this interpretation to suppose that Count Candidian told a bare-faced lie, as the scholiast notes in the margin but merely that he was an Eustasian and sympathised with Nestorius. He would have liked Cyril to have been placed, as it were, in the witness box, he would have liked a discussion as to what the Church believed on the doctrinal question, whereas there was to be no real discussion but all would be settled by acclamation, and Bishops would simply testify to the faith in which they had been baptised and to the guardianship of which they had been consecrated to their high office. So he complained that there was no real investigation. In fact the Synod, as we shall see, did not

\* Cf. the Imperial Letter read by Peter. † Cf. Ep. Nest. ad Imper.

‡ Acta Concilii ad Cyrillum.



exhibit the features of a debating club, nor enter upon biblical criticism, but simply gave its judgment, Bishop after Bishop, as to the heterodoxy of Nestorius and the orthodoxy of Cyril, and, which was as important a point as any, as to whether Nestorius had continued teaching his heresy since the papal judgment, so that its provisions remained in force.

We must, in concluding this part of our subject, express our astonishment at the utterly unhistorical position which Dr. Salmon has taken up in regard to another point; and that, too, whilst he is so vigorously opposing the infallibility of the Holy See on the grounds of history. He gives what he considers a convincing proof against the existence of any belief in that doctrine, drawn from the history of these early Councils. He says (the italics are our own).

*The only one of the great controversies in which the Pope really did his part in teaching Christians what to believe, was the Eutychian Controversy. Leo the Great, instead of waiting, as Popes usually do, till the question was settled, published his sentiments at the beginning, and his letter to Flavian was adopted by the Council of Chalcedon. This is what would have always happened if God had really made the Pope the guide to the Church. But this case is quite exceptional, resulting from the accident that Leo was a good theologian, besides being a man of great vigour of character. No similar influence was exercised either by his predecessors or successors.\**

It would be impossible to pen a sentence in more flagrant contradiction to the evidence afforded by the history of the Council of Ephesus.

In the letters of the Bishops from all parts of Christendom, which Dr. Salmon will find collected by Labbe, after the Council of Chalcedon, the name of Celestine is of constant occurrence, and always as having been the κυβερνήτης, or pilot, in the matter of Nestorius, whilst the Bishops themselves speak of him as "the guardian of the faith" (Act ii.) and the Council, as we shall see in a future article, relies on his letter as the τῆρος on which it framed its judgment.

Here, then, we leave the various parties concerned—Cyril, in the performance of his duty, presiding over the Council in St. Mary's Church at Ephesus, with some 200 Bishops round him—Nestorius remaining in his own house, prepared to ignore

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\* Salmon on the Infallibility of the Church, p. 426, 2nd edition.  
[No. 2 of Fourth Series.]

the Council—he, as St. Sixtus said, who appealed to it, not appearing—John of Antioch, remaining at an easy distance from Ephesus out of friendship to Nestorius, in whose condemnation he was loth to join—Candidian, the Imperial Commissioner, having left St. Mary's in disgust at the turn that things were taking—and the people of Ephesus, who had inherited an affectionate devotion to the mother of God (who had lived nearly four hundred years ago in their midst, and under whose patronage their Great Church was placed) in a state of the greatest excitement, waiting for her great foe to be condemned—and far away the good Pope lifting up his hands on the mountain, and preparing to send fresh legates to assist the maligned Bishop, to whom the papal sentence had been entrusted.

LUKE RIVINGTON.

*[To be concluded].*



## PROTESTANTISM IN ENGLAND.

UNTIL quite recent days Englishmen of all classes have been strangely ignorant of the religious history of their own country. Had this want of knowledge been confined to any one social rank or faith it would not perhaps have been very difficult to interpret, but extending as it has done all around we are compelled to look for some general cause. There can we imagine, be no doubt that the explanation must be sought in the special characteristics of our insular Protestantism. From the accession of Elizabeth until the restoration of Charles II there was here, as elsewhere, a struggle between rival sects who agreed in very little else except their hatred of the Catholic Church but with the Restoration came a kind of unwritten concordat between the opposing forces. Those Protestants who objected to episcopacy received a limited toleration which varied from time to time according to the exigencies of the State. The dissenters were not ungrateful for the favours grudgingly shown them they welcomed William III. gladly and many of them, though Separatists themselves seem to have seen no harm in members of their congregations frequenting the services of ministers of the Established Church. A long catalogue of these "liberal minded" persons might easily be compiled. It may be sufficient to mention Richard Baxter, Philip Henry the father of the well-known commentator on Holy Scripture, and Ralph Thoresby, the Yorkshire antiquary. The members of the Society of Friends were, as far as we are aware the only organised body among the Protestants which was unwilling to come to a friendly understanding with the State Church. As is well known, a charge of Popery was hurled at the early Quakers, as much probably on account of their antagonism to the established religion as for that strange mysticism, which to the minds of people thoroughly ignorant of Catholic doctrine, seemed to present a certain surface likeness to some things which they had come upon in Catholic books of devotion.

The religious fervour of the people, which had burnt so fiercely in the reign of Charles I., gradually cooled down. The Restoration brought with it French manners of the worst sort, and when the Stuarts were banished and we came successively under Dutch and German influences, morals did not mend, and religious feeling sank lower and lower. The few exceptions which can be produced are not to be found in the Established Church, or among the historic dissenters, but in the very feeble ranks of the Nonjurors and those who, while they took the prescribed oaths to the reigning dynasty, were in general sympathy with them. Law, Hickes, Kettlewell, and Bishop Wilson, the author of the '*Sacra Privata*,' are the four leading names which occur to the memory. Of these only the last can with justice be counted to the Church of England.

The rise of Methodism caused a revulsion in English thought which it is very difficult for us to understand. As was natural, the body if body in the early time it can be called, split into two sections. Those who denied free will followed Whitfield; those who accepted what were called Arminian doctrines adhered to the Wesleys. It would not be easy to trace John Wesley's various and sometimes contradictory ideas to their fountain head. His biographers have tried to do so, but have not been rewarded by much success. He was a great ruler of men and those who heard him, one and all, affirmed that he was a great preacher. His success, however, seems to have been at least in a great part due to the fact that he addressed the poor and the neglected—the men and women who were outside the State organisation, and whose hearts could not be touched by the moral platitudes of men whose ideal of Christian oratory was to be found in the sermons of Tillotson and Smallridge. Wesley held hierarchical opinions which he had derived from the nonjuring friends of his youth, but he never hesitated to fling them on one side when they clashed with what he felt to be of more importance.

Grave and imperfect as were Wesley's notions even on those subjects where his teaching was not contradictory to Faith, we cannot be surprised that he shook not only the establishment but the whole frame-work of the religious opinion of



England. It was a new thing in those days to be told that the end of man was not to avoid enthusiasm, but to do the will of God—to save his soul. It was a wonderful portent, to many it came as a new revelation. Though the poor were carried away by it in thousands, its effect was far different on the well-to-do classes. Some of these saw in it a revival of the spirit which had been evoked by the long Parliament, which had for a time overturned the Church and brought the King to the block. To others it was a novel form of "Popery," the old religion in a new and vulgar disguise. A prelate of the Anglian communion thought the times so charged with danger that he published a book, pointing out the likeness, which he fancied he had discovered, between Catholic saints such as SS. Francis, Dominic, and Ignatius Loyola on the one hand and the itinerant preachers on the other.\* We need not say that the conclusions arrived at by the author were entirely wrong. He wrote with great bitterness, but possessed no small ability in marshalling evidence, and showed a perverted but wide knowledge of Catholic literature, such as we seek for in vain in any other English Protestant writer of his day. He was well aware that if he could induce his readers to follow him in believing that the new sects which were springing up around were in any way like the Catholic Church, he would have struck a blow, from which, in those days of ignorance and prejudice, it would have been very hard for the men of the new religions to have recovered.

Though Methodism had some supporters among the upper classes and the clergy it addressed itself at first mainly to the poor. Its effect on the Established Church was indirect, but not on that account the less powerful. Two of the three sections into which the Anglian Communion is at present divided may, without doubt, be traced to the preaching of the Wesleys and Whitfield. As to the body known as Evangelical we are not aware that anyone has denied this parentage. As to the modern High Church or Ritualist party the case may

\* George Lavington, Bishop of Exeter, 1747-1762. His "Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists Compared" was published in 1749. A new edition with a grotesque preface was edited by Rev. Richard Polwhele, the Devonshire Historian, in 1820. It was reprinted once more in 1833. A short account of Lavington may be found in Rev. George Oliver's "Lives of the Bishops of Exeter" (p. 163).

be more doubtful, but there is ample evidence in the writings of the earlier 'Tractarians' to show that they were in their origin an offshoot from the Evangelical body.

We have traced in as few words as may be, the career of Protestantism in this country for the sake of shewing how it has happened that religious history has for most persons remained a blank. From the accession of Elizabeth to the Restoration, Protestantism, in all its forms, was so mixed up with politics, that the political aspect of things has overshadowed all others. From 1660 down to the time of the Oxford Movement, the religious changes in the country, though at times profound, were never rapid or violent, and so observers were for the most part concerned with more noisy matters. The great wars with France, with our own colonies in America, with the forces disengaged by the Revolution and with barbarism in our colonies and dependencies all the world over, and the great scientific discoveries which are believed to have added so much to our material well-being, have left the practical English mind little desire to study the fluctuations of opinion on subjects which many regard as of little importance so long as great moral principles are believed to be safe.

There are many reasons why it is important for the well-instructed Catholic to know the history of those forms of belief outside the Church, with which he comes in daily contact. The modern habit of levelling down has produced a certain uniformity in our own time which we look for in vain in earlier days. The Protestantism of England as of other lands was for the first hundred years of its life fierce and angular. We moderns are in the habit of thinking of all except the Laudian High Churchmen as Puritans, and making little distinction between one kind and another. To confound the Presbyterian with the Independent in their early days is about as great an error as it would be for the zoologists to confuse the zebra and the quagga, or the ox and the buffalo. Their remote origin may have been the same, but their after-growth was widely different.

When Elizabeth abolished the Catholic faith in this country, as far as it was in the power of human laws to do so, her desire, and that of her astute ministers, was that the

whole population should become members of the State Church. To carry out this idea much wariness was called for. A great part of the people were Catholic in heart and feeling, though but a comparatively small remnant were willing to sacrifice everything for the Faith. It was therefore necessary to make the changes at first seem as little violent as possible. Such a compromise however could not last long. The bishoprics and deaneries had to be filled with men who were adherents of the new order of things—that is, with Calvinists—and there cannot be much doubt that in many dioceses fierce “reforms” were carried out such as would, had she been aware of them, have been not a little displeasing to the Queen. Not content with desecration and pillage, the objects which Catholics were accustomed to treat with reverence were abused with a contumely which reminds us of the acts of the French Infidels at the end of the last century. Not only were the altars removed but their slabs put to the vilest uses, made into troughs for cattle, bridges, and fire-backs. Sanctus bells were hung round the necks of cattle, and vestments made into coats for players. The ashes of the dead were not spared. William Whittingham, the Dean of Durham, violated the graves of the Priors in the Cathedral Church of their coffins—

He caused some of them to be plucked up, and appointed them to be used as troughs for horses to drink in, or hogs to feed in. . . . Within the said Abbey Church of Durham were two holy water stones of fine marble very artificially made and engraven, and bossed with hollow bosses, upon the outer sides of the stones, very curiously wrought. . . . Both of these were taken away by this unworthy Dean Whittingham, and carried into his kitchen, and employed to profane uses by his servants steeping their beef and salt fish in them.

It would not be difficult, even without quoting Catholic authorities, to give instances of brutalities of this kind from nearly every diocese in the Kingdom. We believe, however, that they were more atrocious and more frequent in the Northern counties than elsewhere. These violations of the dearest feelings of a people, still for the most part Catholic at heart, had no doubt not a little influence in predisposing them to join in the ill-planned and unfortunate “Rising in the North.”

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\*Anthony Wood “*Athenæ Oxonienses*” Ed. 1721, vol. 1, col. 185.

During the reign of Elizabeth the Church of England may be regarded as a Calvinistic body under episcopal government. We cannot enter into the fruitless discussion as to the meaning of the Seventeenth article which treats of Predestination and Election. It is so vaguely worded, and the terms used are so intentionally indefinite as to render it capable of nearly any interpretation. There cannot, however, be a doubt that in the latter half of the sixteenth century it was understood to teach Genevan doctrine. That Calvin, though we believe he never set foot in the island, was regarded as in some sort a father of the English Church seems evident from certain singular proceedings taken by the Parliament of 1628 against Richard Burgess Vicar of Witney, in Oxfordshire, one of the articles of complaint against him being that "he had abused Mr. Calvin with much derision, and in many reproachful words." \* This was evidently regarded as a great offence, though the words seem to have been uttered in his own home not during his public ministrations.

When we speak of Elizabeth's Church as Calvinistic, we must not be understood to maintain that those who rejected the Genevan doctrines were cut off from membership. The few who did so were tolerated, for the wish of those who ruled was, if possible, to cause the State Church to include every person in the realm. With the accession of James there came a great change. In England, since Protestantism had been established, the Church had been the docile slave of the State. In Scotland the Kirk had become a co-ordinate power, at times even more potent in its action than the State itself. James had been brought up and grown to manhood surrounded by these conditions. His theological opinions were those of his teachers. He had maintained that the Papacy was Anti Christian, and, being an expert in matters of controversy, seems to have been in full accord with the Scottish teaching, but he hated, not unnaturally, the form of Church government to which he had been subjected. When he became King of England he entered, as it were, a new world. The founders of the English Church had begun by maintaining a doctrine as to the "divine right" of kings, which was not only contrary to

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\* *Archæologia* vol. xli., p. 5.



the teachings of almost all the greater theologians of past times, but absolutely subversive of civil freedom. How far this opinion was entertained by the Elizabethan divines it would not be easy to make out without a long investigation devoted to this particular subject. James had however, not been long seated on his English throne ere these opinions became prevalent, and marked out their teachers for the royal favours. It was hardly possible for the more extreme maintainers of the doctrine of 'divine right' to cling at the same time to the popular Calvinism. So a high-church school of thought arose, formed out of those who were revolted by Genevan dogmatism, and whose imaginative instincts led them to crave for ceremonial in religious worship, on the one hand, and on the other those who had brought themselves to believe in the Cranmerian doctrine of the 'divine right' of kings. It does not by any means follow that these latter were in all cases impostors—men teaching falsehoods in the hope of winning favour at court. It is not unlikely that some of them feeling the want of a central authority, and knowing themselves to be cut off alike from the Church and the Holy See should in sheer despair have taken up with the belief, which amounted in practice to the infallibility of the reigning monarch. A volume might be composed of their wild utterances. We shall content ourselves with quoting a passage from Archbishop Laud, who was by far the greatest intellect of the high-church party.

The king the Lord said in a sermon preached before Charles I. is God's immediate lieutenant upon earth and therefore one and the same action is tried by ordinance and the king's by execution, and the power which reaches to the king is not at all assuming to himself, nor any gift from the people but God's power as well in as over him.

In reading a passage like this we cannot help pausing to consider what Saint Thomas or our own great martyr of Canterbury would have thought of it. Yet it was this pernicious folly as far as the poles asunder from authentic Catholic teaching which the seventeenth century Puritans meant when they denounced the 'Popery' of the court preachers. Cromwell's first recorded speech in Parliament was made in 1629 to denounce a sermon of a certain Dr. Alabaster, who, he

\*Laud's "Seven Sermons" (Lib. of Anglo-Catholic Theology), vol. iv, p. 94.

had been told, had preached "flat Popery at Paul's Cross" and who had been, it seems, commended by Dr. Neale, his Bishop, for so doing.\* We do not know that this discourse has been preserved. It probably, however, exists somewhere in the wilderness of Caroline pamphlet literature. We may, however, be pretty sure that what the preacher taught was by no means of a Catholic nature, but some wild nonsense or other about the authority of the King over the Christian conscience.

In judging of our forefathers during the time of the great Civil War and the events which led up to it we must ever bear in mind that they were not in the same position as their Elizabethan forefathers: these latter had known by experience or by immediate family tradition what were the authentic teachings of the Church of God. In the reign of Charles I. three generations had passed away. The grandchildren of the Apostates were in almost every way a great improvement on their predecessors. They had not traded away their faith for a comfortable life under the Tudor tyrant, but had, on the contrary, in many cases honestly tried to construct for themselves a workable religion out of the ruins of things old and the new lights that had come from Switzerland and Germany. That these amateur religions were not only untrue, but contradicted each other, may be taken for granted without proof but they seem to have had an effect not entirely unwholesome on the conduct of those who professed them. There were very few, if any, of the Elizabethan political worthies who were men of untainted lives. There is hardly one of them who, putting on one side things relating to faith, can be contemplated with pleasure. When, however, we arrive at the reign of Charles I., we are in company with a far different class of actors. Eighty-four years had passed by, when the civil war broke out, since the accession of Anne Boleyn's daughter. During the whole of this period (three generations we may say) every means that perverse ingenuity could employ had been used to render the Church of God hateful in the eyes of men.

In those days intelligence spread very slowly, there were

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\* Carlyle's "*Ol. Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*," 1857, vol. 1, p. 50.

no newspapers—they were the creation of the civil contest. Catholic books could not be printed in England except by incurring extreme risk, and there was little less danger incurred by those who brought over the issues of the presses of Douai, Reims, Rouen and Antwerp. We know well that in every part of the land there were families of all ranks which clung to the faith with heroic devotion, and that in some parts of the country they were very numerous, but in the seventeenth century they were everywhere (unless perhaps certain districts of Yorkshire and Lancashire be exceptions) outnumbered by Protestants. When men or women once conformed they were cut off from the stream of Catholic life and Catholic knowledge. They were compelled to be regular in their attendance at the parish churches, where they and their children would listen to harangues compared with which the deliverances of the most extreme of modern Orangemen are tame. The whole of the literature they would read, with singularly few exceptions was saturated with anti-Catholic ideas. Plays then held much the same place in the popular regard as novels do now. Except Shakspeare there was hardly a dramatist, if, indeed, there was a single one, who had not bespattered the Church and those who served and worshipped at her altars with filth. We have good reason for believing that in those days the Holy Scripture was read much more than it is now, but not only were corrupt translations used, but children from their earliest days were taught that much of it was a divine denunciation of the Pope and of those who submitted to his rule. When the prophets of the old law lifted up their voices against idolatry, children were told of the crucifixes and images of the Blessed Mother of God and the saints that but a century ago adorned the now desolate churches. In the Epistles and the Apocalypse it was easy to quote a multitude of passages which perverse reasoning had shown to be denunciations of the Vicar of Christ. The version of Scripture which continued to be most popular for private reading was not the present authorised translation of 1611, but the Geneva rendering, which was Calvinistic wherever it was possible to torture the text in favour of that stern superstition and had, moreover a body of annotations of extreme venom. This book continued to be printed long after James's version was

received into the churches, and Puritans were wont to quote it in their sermons and books. Robert Burton, the author of the 'Anatomy of Melancholy,' the first edition of which appeared in 1621 commonly used this translation when he cited texts from the bible in English, and we have seen evidence proving that in some parts of the North of England it was employed in the public readings in the churches as late as the time of Queen Anne.\*

The secular side of education was by no means neglected. The lives of Saint Dunstan and Saint Thomas of Canterbury were so distorted as to become a standing argument against the religion of which the one was a confessor and the other a martyr, but it was not necessary for the sake of instilling poison to go back to remote times. The days of their grandfathers and even their fathers furnished sufficient evidence. The Spanish power was in the mind of the ordinary protestant Englishman, so intimately blended with that of the Holy See, that it was impossible to sever them. Every evil deed done by the lieutenants of the Spanish monarch in the Low Countries or in America, every threat launched against our own land from the Armada onward was unhesitatingly attributed to the direct agency of the Pope. The murders of the Saint Bartholomew, for which Elizabeth and the court ladies put on mourning, were, almost every protestant Englishman believed, an unprovoked attack on a most innocent and inoffensive people, whose only desire was to be permitted to practise in peace the teachings of the Gospel. The brutalities of the reformed, extending over nearly the whole of France must have been well known to the Queen and her ministers, but the ordinary subject of whatever rank, outside the court circle, unless he had travelled on the continent, was in complete ignorance of these atrocities. We now know that the Gunpowder Plot was the work of a few fanatics driven almost to madness by the cruelties of persecution: we can, moreover, make a shrewd guess, if, indeed, we have not absolute certainty, in what dark schemer's brain the conspiracy was elaborated; but the men of 1642 knew nothing of this. To them it was a matter of absolute certainty that this wicked plot was the design of the

\*Bishop Nicholson's *Miscellany Accounts of the Diocess of Carlisle*, pp. 54, 78, 85.



Catholic community. That the King and his ministers knew far better is certain, but it would never have done to spread their knowledge among the people. On the 29th of November, 1605, Richard Bancroft, the Archbishop of Canterbury, issued a circular to his suffragans as to the observance of the fifth of November, in which he attributes the crime not to the Catholic body, but to "certeyne gentlemen recusantes and popish priestes," and then without a scrap of evidence before him for so foul a charge he goes on to say that "the inveterated malice of the Roman brood is not yet asswaged, but that they are very likely still to persever in their mischievous, wicked, desperate, most irreligious and traiterous enterprises."\* and each year as the anniversary of the discovery of the Gunpowder Treason came round, the people were bidden to go to their parish churches, there to offer up thanks to God for the delivery of the King and Parliament "by Popish treachery appointed as sheep to the slaughter, in a most barbarous and savage manner beyond the example of former ages"† What wonder is there that those who had been trained in Protestantism, whether they were Royalist or Parliamentarian, Calvinist or Laudian, should have hated the Church of whose features they had been suffered to contemplate nothing but a caricature so grotesquely hideous.

Such was the state of mind among our Protestant forefathers when the storm burst. We are now told by a school of writers, which has been influential in many quarters since the beginning of what is known as the Oxford Movement, that there was a powerful high-church party among the laity. Those who have studied most carefully the enormous pamphlet literature of the time have found few traces of it. We do not deny that there was in many quarters profound loyalty to the Crown, amounting in not a few cases to a chivalrous devotion to the persons of the King and Queen which is very touching, but we believe that we owe the notion

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\* "Proceedings of Soc. of Antiquaries" II Series, vol. XI. pp. 392, 393.

† The yearly observance of November 5th was provided for by 3 Jac. I., cap 1. A form of prayer, drawn up by the bishops, was issued by the king in 1608. It was revised after the Restoration, and added to on the accession of William III. It will hardly be believed that this service continued in use until 1859. See *J. H. Blunt*, "Annotated Prayer Book," W., 577.

of the existence of this high-church faction mainly to the dreamers of latter days and the skilful pens of modern romance-writers.

We have not space in which to trace the great split between the Presbyterian and the Independent sections of the Puritan body, which led to such momentous issues. Should we ever do so we trust to be able to show where and to whom is due the ignominy of the bitter persecution under which the English Catholics suffered.

EDWARD PEACOCK.

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## THEOSOPHY AND ITS EVIDENCES.

## I

"No more difficult work could be proposed, perhaps, to any body of people than the understanding of Theosophy."

WITH this cheerful announcement, one of its latest hierophants undertakes to set before us evidences of the Wisdom-Religion, as its professors, with studied inpropriety, have named a system containing no religion and less wisdom. Its compound name is not more inappropriate than its shorter title, 'Theosophy.' Trusting to etymology, one naturally supposes the word has been coined to convey the idea that the science treats of God and wisdom. But our supposition is very wide of the mark. "The word 'Theosophy,'" one of its exponents remarks, "often leads people wrong at the outset, giving the idea that the Wisdom-Religion postulates a personal Deity. This is not the case."\* There is no Theos, no God, in the Theosophical system, and its wisdom is embodied in its philosophy. This is attractively described by the hierophant: "Its philosophy," says this oracular personage, "is more abstruse than that of Hegel, while it is far more subtle, many of its evidences require so much study and self-denial that they will certainly remain hidden from the majority." I am sure the oracular person is right, its 'evidences' will certainly remain hidden from the majority, if only from the simple reason that you cannot give intelligible explanations of the shapeless and indefinite. In spite of this certainty, Theosophists are making vigorous efforts to propagate their ideas and it is from some pamphlets written to popularise their tenets that I have taken the account of Theosophy lightly sketched in this paper, giving the doctrines mainly in the *opossumu verba* of the writers, with a few comments by way of relieving my own bewilderment.

## II.

When it introduces itself by name I venture to think Theosophy makes a bad beginning. It makes a bad beginning

\* "Theosophy and its Evidences," by Annie Besant (p. 3).

because it avowedly fashions for itself a name, which, it elaborately explains, is a misnomer. It starts then by conveying a false impression through the title it selects, and as we dip into theosophical literature we find its subsequent achievements worked out much on the same lines. We are asked to discount the accepted meaning of familiar words, or, while keeping the word, we are asked to shed the environment which made the word intelligible; we are required passively to accept new interpretations which make us stare blankly at our old friends with their new faces, and find no meaning in them. Nor can there be any meaning, until, as Mr. William Q. Judge kindly tells us\* “the new meanings are grasped one by one as the student pushes forward the demolition of his preconceived notions.” But not everyone cares to demolish his preconceived notions and readjust all his mental furniture at the invitation of unknown Theosophists, and this not unnatural reluctance causes zealous members of the new wisdom to groan over their arduous task in carrying on an effectual propaganda. “The Western intelligence,” Mrs. Besant confesses, after sorrowful experience, “cautiously guards itself against unproven assertions.”† Unproven assertions constituting the bulk of the “Evidences” for Theosophy, no wonder western shyness in accepting such very meagre intellectual nutriment is classed amongst those preconceived and inconvenient ideas, which, as an indispensable preliminary, we are encouraged to demolish. With this preparatory skirmishing, let me introduce the outline of Theosophical teaching furnished for us by Theosophists themselves.

### III.

From an epitome specially written by an American Theosophist for non-theosophical readers, we gather that the theory of nature and of life which Theosophy offers is not one that was at first speculatively laid down, and then proved by adjusting facts and conclusions to fit it; but it is an explanation of existence, cosmic and individual, derived from the knowledge reached by those who have acquired the power

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\* “*Epitome of Theosophical Teaching*,” by William Q. Judge (p. 4).

† “*Theosophy and its Evidences*,” by Annie Besant (p. 2).



to see beyond the curtain that hides the operations of nature from the ordinary man. Such beings are called Sages. Of late they have been called Mahatmas; in ancient times they were known as Rishies and Maharishies. Disclaiming all *a priori* reasoning, Theosophy rests upon unknown personalities whose title of Mahatma is not unfamiliar to our ears. We should like to know something about those strangely named beings on whose *ipse dixit* we are blandly told we must remodel our ideas of things in general. But our craving for information is only excited, not satisfied. We are put ash with the statement that "in so far as concerns the present development of the human race on this planet, Mahatmas are now to be found in the East." We cannot unearth Mahatmas from the indefinite geographical region thus vaguely indicated. We must content ourselves with listening submissively and gratefully, I suppose, to the fragments of knowledge they have considerably left behind them before striding into cloudland.

As the result of their looking behind the veil which conceals things from average mortals, they tell us that the Universe is not an aggregation of diverse unities; it is one whole. This unity is denominated "Deity" by Western Philosophers and Para Brahman by Hindus Vedantins. That the unity of the universe is denominated Para-Brahm by Hindus I am willing to accept on Mahatma authority; but when that authority asserts that Western Philosophers with machine-like regularity denominate the same as Deity I demur. I can hardly admit that Western Philosophers are Pantheists to a man, nor do I think any Mahatma unless he had his habitat so far east as to be completely out of touch with the West ought to venture upon an assertion so conspicuously inaccurate.

Para Brahman may be called the Unmanifested. It contains within itself the potency of every form of manifestation. Here there is no creation only evolution. When the time comes the Unmanifested manifests an objective universe. It manifests an objective universe periodically and so doing it manifests a First Cause. This First Cause we may call Brahmâ, or Omazd or Osiris or (with grand indifference to mere words) by any name we please. This is very large-minded and  
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liberal, and encourages me to point out that a "First Cause" which is obtained by the action of a *prior* cause can hardly be accurately designated as a "First Cause." Is not a First Cause so named because, having nothing before it, it is absolutely the First? If it emanates from something antecedent to itself, it seems to occupy not the first, but the second place. It may be, however, that the idea that a First Cause must be first and not second is only another of those preconceived notions which Theosophy condemns, and directs us to demolish. Having thus evolved a First Cause or Brahman, though our logical ideas get mixed rather in the process, we find that Brahman "projects" its influence into time. As to how this projection is accomplished Theosophists are impressively silent; this projection, however, it explains is the "Breath of Brahman" and causes all the worlds and the beings on them gradually to appear, and they continue evolving themselves as long as Brahman breathes outwards. But after long oceans of time Brahman begins to breathe inwards and the universe begins to go into *Pralaya* or obscuration, until the breath being fully indrawn, no object remains. The breathing forth is known as *Manvantara*, or the manifestation of the world between two *Manus*, and as the completion of the inspiration brings with it *Pralaya* or Destruction, we have a satisfactory account as to how the "erroneous" doctrines of Creation and Last Judgment come into being. These *Manvantaras* and *Pralaya* have eternally occurred and will continue to take place periodically and for ever seemingly as if they were recurring decimals on a large scale.

#### IV

For the purposes of a *Manvantara*, two eternal principles are postulated: *Purusha* spirit and *Prakriti* matter. But *Purusha* is not exactly spirit, and *Prakriti* is not matter as known to science. *Purusha* the spirit, goes from Brahman through various forms of matter, beginning in the material world in the lowest form. We are warned that this lowest form is unknown, as yet, to modern science. Every mineral, vegetable and animal form imprisons a spark of the Divine and indivisible *Purusha*. These sparks struggle to secure self-

consciousness in the highest form to which they can attain, viz., that of man, and they continue struggling and travailing in pain until they arrive at this form.

This is all exceedingly strange and perplexing and suggests various queries. Theosophy starts with affirming that there is no God; then why speak of sparks of the "Divine." The "Divine" surely has no meaning except in so far as it expresses relation to the Divinity. Take away the Divinity and you eliminate all its actual relations which can be expressed by adjectives. Then, these sparks of the Divine being without self-consciousness, which we are told they are struggling to obtain, must be inferior to man, who is self-conscious. But if inferior to man why call them "Divine?" That appellation has by general consent hitherto been reserved for something that was held to be higher than man, and not applied to something that was groaning and travailing and struggling generally in order to become man. These divine sparks are most puzzling, for we are further told "That the real man is the 'higher self;' being the spark of the Divine before alluded to, it continually partakes of the Divine state, it is always peaceful, unconcerned, blissful and full of absolute knowledge."\* Piecing together the knowledge of these "divine sparks" which is communicated to us, we find that they are ever struggling and always peaceful: groaning and travailing and yet unconcerned: imprisoned in an unconscious state in low forms of matter and all the time full of absolute knowledge: unconsciously striving to acquire consciousness and still blissful and continually partaking of the Divine.

One must be a Mahatma, or at least a Maharishee I suppose, really to understand this. It is somewhat comforting then to be told that any one may become a Mahatma. But the evolution of this much favoured being comes about slowly, indeed very slowly, in this fashion.

The divine spark struggling to secure self-consciousness continues to evolve itself. The period, calculated in human time during which the evolution goes on, embraces millions of ages. Each spark of the divine, having millions of ages in which to work out its mission, settles down to its real work

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\* "Epitome of Theosophical Teaching," by William Q. Judge (p. 6 & 7).

with marked procrastination, and uses up oceans of time in making tentative bad shots. The great work of obtaining self-consciousness may be accomplished during the *Manvantara* in which a divine spark reaches the human form, or it may not.

All depends on the individual's own will and effort. What these efforts are is not clear: but some sparks make up their minds to do them apparently when they have grown tired of doing something else for some millions of years, and so become Mahatmas. Mahatmas or Maharishees are thus evolved during a *Manvantara*, and, after its expiration, become planetary spirits, who guide the course of future worlds. The planetary spirits who guide our globe are those who in previous *Manvantaras* or days of Brahmâ undertook the efforts and became, in the course of long ages, the Mahatmas who have unaccountably selected distant Thibet as a congenial though somewhat secluded residence.

#### V.

Besides Mahatmas, there are beings known as *Guanis*,\* who belong to other worlds, and descend to this earth from other spheres, in order that they may help on the spiritual progress of this globe. They are not of the race of man, but their presence is very desirable, and true Theosophists should so live that their influence may induce the Gnanis to come again into this world of ours. Many Theosophists Madame Blavatsky remarks, with some disapproval, do *not* live in this fashion.

Theosophy also teaches the existence of a universally diffused, highly ethereal medium, called "Astral light" † It is material, not spirit. It is not ether. It has the power of retaining all images, so subtle a power is it that every thought even photographs itself indelibly upon Astral light. This Astral light forms a repository of all past, present and future events, so that he who can read Astral light images knows all the past, the present and the future. In this light everything is recorded which goes to make up a man's Karma. Karma is not easy to define, but we may explain it in this

\* "Epitome of Theosophical Teaching," by William Q. Judge (p. 8)

† "Epitome of Theosophical Teaching," by William Q. Judge, p. 9.



wise. Every thought, every action of man is not transient, but leaves a permanent impression behind it. These permanent impressions condescend: they do not die but live on to influence the future existence of the man who has produced them. They are Frankensteins of every man's production, and they relentlessly pursue their creator. The balance, or excess of merit or demerit affects the subsequent existence of men. So that a man who starts his third or fourth life with an accumulated excess of evil propensities will find his Karma urging him on still more to evil. Not only do individuals unconsciously fashion their own individual Karma but nations and peoples conjointly build up a national Karma. There is no such thing as chance. Karma settles everything. It is a blind, unintelligent law, acting mechanically with no more policy than is shown by the winds and waves. Should a man produce a Karma bad enough he would finally end in *Avitchi*. *Avitchi* is not exactly hell, it is something very unpleasant but we are told "this tenet has never been explained by the masters who have always" refused to answer and to explain it conclusively.

Space will not permit me to do more than mention the Theosophists' belief in two vast but now vanished continents, Lemuria, once situated between Australia and Mozambique, and Atlantis about which Mr. Ignatius Donnelly has discoursed so charmingly. These were the homes of the third and fourth races respectively. Although the Lemurians were only possessed of three senses and the Atlantians of four, the national Karma they evolved with these slender means was so bad that it was found necessary to submerge the whole continent and make a fresh start, by originating a fifth Race with five senses, viz., ourselves.

We shall be superseded one day in our turn, for our earth is but one of seven planets, the other six being, I regret to learn invisible. Of these seven our globe is the fourth which the life-wave visits in its orderly wanderings. For Humanity passes from globe to globe, in a series of rounds, circling about each globe and reincarnating upon it a fixed number of times. All human affairs are subject to cyclic laws, but as the ages

grow darker the cycles are shorter. Cyclic laws impose restrictions on human progress and the Mahatmas must wait till they can aid the race to ascend. They cannot interfere with Karmic law.

## VI.

So far I have been giving a scanty outline of the salient points of Theosophy, and, it may be asked, where are the logical evidences for all this? Putting aside spiritualistic manifestations, I can only answer that I have not found any. I have found a confused blending of various conflicting philosophical systems, the Pantheism of Spinoza and Hegel, the *disjecta membra* of the bad philosophies which go to Oxford when they die, mixed with the metempsychosis of Pythagoras, the fatalism of orientals and the evolutionary theories of westerns, sometimes expressed in language which betrays familiarity with biblical phraseology. Eastern ideas are re-modelled and put before us, draped in Christian garments sitting awkwardly upon them. But evidence clear and cogent that all these things are individually true, and collectively persuade and argue and prove the logical position of Theosophy, of this I have found no evidence. Statements and assertions you may have by the yard, but statements are not proofs and assertions are not evidence. Let me quote some statements meant for evidences.\* It is stated that there always has been esoteric teaching. "Unto you it is given to know the mystery of the kingdom of God, but unto those that are without in parables." Yes, but it does not follow that the mystery here alluded to was the peculiar system of Theosophists.

St Paul "spoke wisdom amongst the perfect." Yes, but how do you prove that the perfect were identical with modern Theosophists. The mediæval alchemists had occult knowledge, perhaps. Paracelsus came back from Tartary a skilful physician. Von Helmont handed on the teaching of Paracelsus, whose *language* might prove misleading, but if we study his *ideas* we shall find he was possessed of true knowledge. What knowledge precisely is *true*? This is statement, not proof; still less is it evidence. For evidence, we find that Theosophists fall back upon the authority of their adepts.

\* "Theosophy and its Evidences," by Annie Besant, p. 14.

The ultimate authority," says Mrs. Besant, "can be found only on the metaphysical heights, and these heights can be scaled but by the strenuous efforts of the patient and undaunted student. Each such student can bear his testimony to what he has seen and known, but to all, save himself, his evidence remains second-hand. Personally won, it remains a personal possession, priceless to himself, but of varying value to those who hear it from him."

Evidence. Mrs. Besant goes on to say in her pamphlet on the evidences of Theosophy, "must be congruous with the position which it is sought to demonstrate." Yes, but it must also be congruous with the capacities of those for whom it is adduced as evidence, since what may be evidence to a trained intellect may be unintelligible confusion to the untrained. To the mathematician nothing can be more evident than that such an expression as  $x^2 \times 6x - 27$  is an affected Quadratic equation, but these symbols would fail to bring kindly light or utter conviction to a mind innocent of Algebra. And so with Theosophy. When you already know the evidence it may be overwhelming, but when you are still in an enquiring stage then, says Mrs. Besant, people "must either suspend their judgment on the conclusion or accept it at second-hand, or on authority. They will be very foolish if they deny the conclusion because the evidence for it is beyond their grasp, but they are perfectly justified in withholding their belief where they cannot understand. The propounder of the proposition may fairly say: 'This is true: I cannot make the proof any easier for you than I have done.'"\* This contention is just; we must accept propositions either on evidence or on authority, for there is no middle course. Mrs. Besant admits that evidence is not forthcoming, but what about the authority? Ultimately it is the dicta of those Mahatmas whom but one or two people assert they have seen; the fact of their existence rests entirely upon the unsupported assertion of self-constituted teachers who have no credentials and furnish no tangible proofs for their assertions. It is mere scattering dust in the air to speak of evidences and then inform us that this evidence is purely subjective, intelligible only to those who can scale metaphysical heights; it is scattering dust in our eyes to berate us severely for denying conclusions not proven to our

\* "Theosophy and its Evidences," by Annie Besant, p. 9

minds by the second-hand evidence which Theosophy has to offer us—second hand evidence of confessedly varying value. Speaking for myself, I could not find it enough. To say there is no truth whatever in Theosophy, however, seems to me to be asserting too much. But it is not too much to say that what truth there is is overlaid with the vagaries of oriental fancy and some western inconsistencies to such an extent that the original truth is well nigh crushed out of existence. That processes of evolution go on is true, but they do not prove *Manvantaras*; that a man reaps what he sows is true, but this does not prove *Karma*, that there are other intelligent beings in the universe besides ourselves is true, but this does not prove the existence of *Gnanis* or *Mahatmas*, of *Rishees* or *Marishees*.

Theosophy, by hiding some things and pushing others to the front, seems to me to be playing to the gallery as when it declares that the *Mahatmas* will tell nothing about unpleasant *Avitchi* or hell—it follows the same plan in tacking on some necessary humanitarian sentimentalism about the Brotherhood of Man. The Christian teaching that we are all fashioned by the same Divine hand, and have the same Father in heaven is intelligible to all. For this teaching Theosophy substitutes spluttering and erratic sparks of the Divine world spirit. There may be minds so constructed that they feel the Brotherhood of Man when they are told that every man holds within himself a struggling spark of the Divine. But in the iron laws which fetter men and nations, no less than the inanimate creation by an inexorable *Karma*, there is no pity, no brotherly love which can avail no sympathy for the present misery of men who have in former existences witlessly brought their present sorrows on themselves. *Mahatmas* cannot help us, for they cannot interfere with cyclic laws. Man is powerless to succour his fellow-man, for *Karma* works mechanically and can no more be resisted than the yielding soil can resist the steam-plough. Moreover, if there is no God and lawgiver, then I do not see where there can be any moral transgression. We may violate physical laws and physical laws will avenge themselves. But that is not morality, for physical laws are neither moral or immoral, but only become moral or the reverse when complied with or



violated with reference to an authority competent to claim obedience. Such an authority has no place in Theosophy, nor can I find in its teaching any consolation for the poor, the erring and the fallen. There is no consolation in a philosophy which you cannot understand, there is no springing hope to be drawn from evidences requiring so much study that they must ever remain unknown to the vast majority of men. There is no stimulus for mankind at large in the thought of the accumulated evils of past existences dogging one's steps with shadow-like fidelity never to be shaken off till they have worked out their inevitable effects. There is only mysticism which unhealthily stimulates the imagination and vague theories which employ the intellect in barren speculations. Claiming to be old and to show the close bond of sympathy between men, yet Theosophy with all its Mahatma knowledge gained from Astral light, has never built a hospital or founded an order of nursing sisters.

## VII.

Let me now take one specimen "marvel" which is appealed to as indisputable evidence. I quote from a document signed by nine witnesses. "On Sunday October 3rd at Mr Hume's house in Simla at a dinner party, when ten guests, including Madame Blavatsky, were present, Madame Blavatsky asked Mrs. Hume if there was anything she particularly wished for. Mrs. Hume at first hesitated, but in a short time said there was something she particularly would like to have brought to her namely, a small article of jewellery that she formerly possessed but had given away to a person who had allowed it to pass out of her possession. Madame Blavatsky then said if she would fix the image of the article in question very definitely on her mind, she, Madame Blavatsky would endeavour to procure it. Mrs. Hume said she vividly remembered the article and described it as an old-fashioned breast brooch set round with pearls with glass at the front, and the back made to contain hair. She then on being asked, drew a rough sketch of the brooch. Madame Blavatsky then wrapped up a coin, attached to her watch chain, in two cigarette papers, put it in her dress and said she hoped the brooch might be obtained in the course of the evening. At the end of dinner she said

to Mrs. Hume that the papers in which the coin had been wrapped was gone. A little later in the drawing-room she said that the brooch would not be brought into the house but that it must be looked for in the garden, and then as the party went out accompanying her, she said that she had clairvoyantly seen the brooch fall into a star-shaped bed of flowers. Mr. Hume led the way to such a bed in a distant part of the garden. A prolonged and careful search was made with lanterns, and eventually a small paper packet consisting of two cigarette papers was found amongst the leaves by Mrs. Sunnett. This being opened on the spot, was found to contain a brooch exactly corresponding to the previous description, and which Mrs. Hume identified as that which she had originally lost."

I accept the narrative of those present as an accurate description of facts as they witnessed them. But the evidence for theosophy lies not in the fact simply, but in the *explanation* of the facts. Let us first examine them.

(a) Mrs. Hume had lost a brooch. This statement is not quite accurate, for, as Mrs. Hume says, she had *given* it away to a person who had allowed it to pass out of her possession.

Now this statement is important, for the first stage is to prove that the brooch was really lost. The expression "allowed it to pass out of her possession" may be a roundabout way of intimating that the brooch was lost, but it may mean that the brooch was sold, or given away. It would have made the case stronger to have shown that the brooch was really lost, instead of saying vaguely it was allowed to pass out of someone's possession. Evidence should be forthcoming to trace the brooch to its last known owner. Though the brooch had passed out of the possession of Mrs. Hume and her friend there is no evidence that no one else had any knowledge of its whereabouts. This is a point which is passed over, but it is essential. I must also remark, by the way, that if Mrs. Hume "had given the brooch away" she no longer had any right to it. It belonged to someone else. Whoever brought the brooch back to Mrs. Hume seems to have stolen it from the person who presumably had it after Mrs. Hume's friend "allowed it to pass out of her possession."

As a piece of evidence, I submit that the fact of the brooch

being lost to all human ken is assumed, but not proven by anything in the narrative.

(b) Mrs. Blavatsky states that her cigarette papers which contained the coin are gone. We have only her word for it. In cases where we are dealing with preternatural effect I want something more than the unsupported statement of the one person most interested.

(c) In the dark garden they search a flower-bed with lanterns. Nothing would have been easier than for any one of the party to have dropped a small packet into the bed unperceived by the rest. Two cigarette papers of the usual size would not make much of a packet and walking from the house to the distant flower-bed in the dark would give ample time and opportunity for anyone to extract from her dress a small article without attracting attention. And why was the packet not dropped in the lighted drawing-room?

(d) The strongest point seems to be Mrs. Hume's apparently independent selection of the brooch, when asked by Madame Blavatsky to think of something she would like to have. But was it independent selection? Was there no "suggestion"? No skilfully disguised prompting? We have a right to be sceptical before accepting accounts of preternatural occurrence, and to examine the evidence very narrowly. The only proof given in the narrative is that Madame Blavatsky could not have known anything about the brooch, or Mrs. Hume's desire to have it. I am prepared to give Madame Blavatsky the credit of being no mean adept in the art of "suggestion," by means of which many seemingly inexplicable events have been brought about. I cannot see that it is such a sheer impossibility that some such suggestion may not have taken place, though Mrs. Hume would be quite unconscious of the fact. I do not say that "suggestion" was employed in the case in point, but the fact that it might have been employed waters down the marvellous very considerably.

I am not saying that the whole occurrence was mere trickery, but I do say we have no undeniable proofs that it was not, and that marvellous as it seems to onlookers it has too many weak points to claim to rank as indisputable evidence. *The unexplained is not of necessity proof positive.*

I have abstained from making much comment on the evidence furnished perhaps by the semi-spiritualistis wonders performed by some Theosophists. The finding of lost brooches in pillows and flower-beds, the dropping of bouquets of roses by invisible hands from the ceiling, are certainly wonders, whether produced simply through a more extensive knowledge of natural laws, or as the work of beings possessed of faculties higher than our own. But their value as evidence is assessed by the system in favour of which they are manifested, and if that system is illogical, no amount of unexplained occurrences will make it logical. Moreover, I cannot understand anyone stating his faith in things present, and his hopes of things hereafter on such theatrical wonders. To my own western mind, the devoted care of the sick, the aged, and the fallen, the gentle virtues of humility and self-forgetfulness actually practised under Christian teaching, appeal with more argumentative force than all the statements made on behalf of that curious mosaic of philosophic uncertainties and Egyptian Hall marvels, decked out with tinsel arrangements of cheap learning which the Theosophical Society puts forth as a rational, a logical, and a persuasive exposition of Theosophy and its Evidences.

W. D. STRAPPINI,

Oxford, January, 1892.

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## THE IRISH AT NANTES.

## II.

THE RIGHT REVEREND CORNELIUS O'KEEFFE, BISHOP OF  
LIMERICK, 1720-1737.

**D**OCTOR JOHN O'MOLONY, Bishop of Limerick and Administrator of the Diocese of Killaloe died in Paris, September 3rd, 1702, where he was buried in the chapel of the Irish College, in which still remains the mural marble slab to his memory. The Diocese of Limerick remained vacant for nearly eighteen years, and was governed by vicars during this troubled period. At length the Holy See found it opportune to appoint the Reverend Cornelius O'Keeffe, rector of the Parochial Church of S. Similien, at Nantes, to the charge of that important See. He was a priest of the Diocese of Cork, and a native of "Gleanna-Phreacane" Glenville. A roll of lineage entered and proved in the College of Arms, London, and accompanied by a deed perfected by Dr. O'Keeffe founding three burses in the Collège des Lombards, Paris bears the date, 9th September, 1734. In this the Bishop states that he is of the family of the O'Keeffes of Fernox, distinguished by their actions, their alliances, and their estates, which are mentioned by name, that Denis O'Keeffe father of the Bishop was turned out of his inheritance of "Dun," now Doon, on the river Bride by the usurper, Cromwell, that after many hardships he at last settled at Drunkene, in the county of Limerick, where he left six sons, Daniel, Dermot Philip, Domatus, Luke, and this Cornelius, the Bishop.

Of the highly respectable parentage of the Bishop there can be no doubt. From his mother's side he was descended from the O'Dalys. I have not been able to obtain much information of his early training. Like most of the young aspirants to the ecclesiastical state at that period, the young O'Keeffe likely received at home the elementary training in classes under the difficult circumstances of the time. He was sent to France and entered the Irish College at Boulogne.

when he received the clerical tonsure, as appears from the following document preserved in the Archives of the Evêché at Nantes

Louis d'Anglure de Bourlemont, Archevêque de Bourges primate d'Aquitaine, a donné la tonsure cléricale à Cornelle O'Kelly fils naturel et légitime de Denis et Honoree O'Daly, évêque du Séminaire des Irlandais à Bourges, dans la chapelle de son palais archiepiscopal, le 29 Mars 1686

He afterwards went to Toulouse where he finished his studies and took the degree of Doctor in Divinity (Linehan's 'History of Limerick'). In September, 1710 we find him nominated cure of S. Similien at Nantes where also he held other benefices *sine cura* and retained these until his death. Doubtless his love for the shrine of 'Notre Dame de Misericorde' which devotion was propagated by an Irish exiled Bishop and which was situated in the parish, was one reason why he was nominated to this charge. In a mandement of one of the Bishops of Nantes about this time particular stress is laid on the chapel of Our Lady 'du Bon Secours' by which name it was also known in connection with the Irish clergy residing at Nantes. He is mentioned in Linehan's 'History of Limerick' as rector of 'S. Chronicleu'. \* He was succeeded at S. Similien by the Rev. Peter Burke of the diocese of Clonfert who was also superior of the Irish Seminary at Nantes, which position he held until his death in October 1724. It is thus recorded in the register of the church of S. Similien, 13 Octobre, 1724: "Noble V. et D. (venerable et discret) Pierre Burek, recteur de S. Similien, docteur en Theologie, ci devant, recteur de Pau, chapelain de S. Julien, supérieur de la Maison et communauté des Messieurs les prêtres Irlandais, d. c. d. après 50 jours de maladie, âgé d'environ 48 ans, inhumé au grand cimetière de S. Similien, en présence des Sieurs Thomas Burek, son neveu, Sparks, prêtre, chapelain de S. Julien, G. Stack, prêtre, procureur de la communauté Irlandaise, Walsh, docteur au Sorbonne, *superieur de la communauté Irlandaise a Nantes.*" Dr. O'Keefe was appointed Bishop of Limerick by Brief, dated March 1720. The penal laws

\*This must be a mistake as there is no such parish or Saint as "Chronicleu" known at Nantes. Formerly S. Similien was called S. Semblin.

were during this period in full force in Ireland. We can imagine the change for the Bishop from his parish and friends at Nantes to Limerick, where a Bishop had not been for eighteen years, and where religion was undergoing a most severe persecution. Linehan's "History of Limerick" gives an account of an accusation brought against him and other Bishops by an unfortunate renegade, who stated "that in August or September, 1729, he was in company with Conor O'Keeffe, popish Bishop of Limerick, Francis Loyd, popish Bishop of Killaloe, and D. Stones, a Franciscan friar of the city of Dublin, at the house of Teige M'Carthy, *alias* Rabah,\* the then popish Bishop of Cork and Cloyne, when the said O'Keeffe and Loyd delivered a letter to the said M'Carthy from Christopher Butler, the popish Archbishop of Cashel, acquainting him that he had received a letter from the Pope's internuncio at Brussels; that the Pope had complied with the request of the Archbishops of Ireland; that his Holiness had sent him an indulgence for ten years, in order to raise a sum of money to be specially applied to restore King James III. to his rights, and put his then Majesty and the Royal Family to the sword" (House of Commons Journal, 1741). On the strength of these informations Dr. M'Carthy's house was searched, and his papers enclosed to the Speaker of the House. Their report, filled with abuse and invectives, contained but one fact, that a sum of £5 had been collected to defeat a measure to prevent Catholics practising as solicitors, and on that fact they urged the severe enforcement of the penal laws. Dr. M'Carthy, "Rabah," of whom mention is made, was the last bishop of the united dioceses of Cork and Cloyne. The present Cathedral of Cork was begun by him. He lived in a wretched lane near it, some twenty years since called "Rawbuck's Lane" now dignified by the name of "Eason's Avenue." I may be permitted, for the sake of preserving the document, and also to show the style of such in those days, to give a dimissorial letter from the Bishop, preserved at Nantes:—

Tadeus dei m̄srae sedis apticae gr̄aa Corcagiensis et Cluonensis Ep̄us  
dilecto nobis in Xto Eugenio Cunningham. Legitimo Thoro et Catholicis

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\* So many and numerous were the M'Carthys, they had several distinguishing names. "Ra'ah" means hospitable.

parentibus orlo Baptizato, Vingenti quinq[ue] annos Nato ac dietæ nræ Coreagiensis in hibernia diocesis oriu[n]do, salutem in eo qui est omnia salus, ut a quocunque Catholico antistite gratiam et Communionem s[an]c[t]æ Sedis apticæ habente quam propter hoc adire malueris primam Tonsuram Clericalem, quatuor Minores ordines, sacros subdiaconatus, diaconatus, et Presbyteratus, ordines recipere valeas non servatis interstitis per p[re]sentes licentiam concedimus sub titulo missionis in hiberniam dummodo per examen idoneus reperiaris. Datum in Loco nrî Refugii sub sigillo nro manuali 10 Maji, 1730, sig. thad coreag et Cluon Ep[iscopu]s, et infra de mandato illust ac Rm[ati] D[omi]ni Epi Rely secret ac sigillatum (Insinué 15 Feb 1730, at the Evêché at Nantes).

Mr. Cunningham received from Mgr. Turpin Crispé, in the Chapel of the Grand Séminaire at Quatuor Tense, 17 February, 1731, tonsure and the four minor orders, and on Saturday before Passion Sunday, in the same place and from the same prelate, sub-deaconship. I may be pardoned another digression to show the difficulties of the Irish students on the continent in those troubled times. The following petition, without date, is among the archives of the Department at Nantes:

Pax Xpi

Reverendi admodum Domini Est quod vestris Dominationibus Notum esse Velimus nos infrascriptos in Artium facultate Burdigalensi, nec non natione Hybernos a Patris aedibus quatuor abhinc annis clapsis propter fidem orthodoxam expulsos, jam peractis studiis philosophicis in prædictâ Universitate propter paupertatem rerum inopiam Parisios gratis studendi Sacram Theologiam profecturos, Quapropter vestras Dominationes non vulgariter deprecamur ut Nobis aliquod auxilii ad iter peragendum concedere non delignantur. In remuneratione cui Deum Op[er]e Max[ime] Beatissimam Virginem Deiparam pro vestris Dominationibus semper Oramus.

Humillimè. Adhucissimè

vestrum

Servi

Dominationum

Mauritius Rochens

Donatus Kimmel

Reveris admodum

Guilielmus Flalonus et

Doms, P[ater]

Cornelius Crowley, Hiberni.

Canonicis Nantensibus.

There is no date to this document, but it must be about the time I am treating and it shews the difficulties of the Irish students of the period persecuted at home and living in



poverty abroad. An idea of the state of things at this time may be gathered from the fact that early in Dr. O'Keeffe's Episcopate a priest Rev. Timothy Ryan, was hanged in Limerick for the sole crime of his marrying a Catholic to a Protestant. Dr. O'Keeffe set himself to work in restoring discipline and framed rules which, I believe, are in part still in force in the Diocese of Limerick. He was entrusted by the Holy See with many delicate and difficult questions in other dioceses and regarding differences between religious bodies. From time to time he revisited France, where doubtless the happiest days of his life were spent. In June and April, 1734 and 1735 he performed several ordinations at Nantes for the Bishop of that See, so that he must have more than once visited the land of his adoption,—for he was a naturalised Frenchman. In 1731 on the occasion of a visit to Paris he founded three Burses in the Irish College of that city for students of the name of O'Keeffe, his own relatives. He laid down rules for the regulation of the Burses. The will of the Bishop was the occasion of litigation between Dr. Lacy, his successor in the See of Limerick and Dr. Walsh, Bishop of Cork, as to which diocese the benefit of the Burses should be applied. It was carried before the courts at Paris, but the cause was left by them without a decision. Dr. O'Keeffe died on the 10th May, 1737, and was buried in St. John's churchyard, in that city, but no monument remains to show his grave.

Having thus given a brief sketch of the life of Dr. O'Keeffe, I now return to my promise in the January number to give the authorisation of the University of Nantes to the request of the Rev. Daniel Byrne, of the Diocese of Dublin, to the Establishment of the Irish Seminary and the rules it laid down in granting the privileges asked for.

(TIMBRE.)

20<sup>th</sup> May 1766.

(ETATS DE BRETAGNE.)

Timbre des Archives. Extrait des Registres des deliberations deparlementales, Nantes, de L'Université de Nantes.

Du Vingt May, mil sept cent soixante six. Assemblée extraordinaire des Messieurs de l'université, tenue et convoquée par ordre de Monsieur le Recteur, dans la salle des Révérends peres carmes, on étoit presens.

[No 2 of Fourth Series]

Monsieur poit des Rochettes, docteur en Theologie, Recteur,

Pour la Theologie :

Messieurs Forget, Merlet, et de picamill

Pour la Médecine :

Messieurs Alexandre, Bonamy, Bodin, Kirwan, Richard

du Plessis, Mailhos, Bureau, Geffray et Sollier.

Pour les Arts

Messieurs Durif, Le Mercier, et de la Tourette

Sur la requeste du Sieur Birne supérieur de la communauté des prêtres irlandais de cette ville Et la communication par lui faite des Lettres Patentes obtenues en faveur de La dite communauté En l'année mil sept cent soixante cinq et de l'arrest de la Jour du mois de fevrier dernier, Lesquelles Lettres Patentes portent entreautres dispositions que la philosophie et la theologie pourant estre enseignées à la dite communauté par des professeurs de la nation Yrlandoise, et que leurs etudiens pourant prendre des degres dans l'université de Nantes en subissant les examens, et faisant les actes ordinaires, sans qu'il soit néanmoins porte aucune atteinte aux droits de la dite université à qui le soin et l'inspection des etudes sont spécialement confiées par les lois de l'Eglise et de l'Etat, l'Université voulant d'un cote procurer aux prêtres irlandais la facilité d'instruire et d'acquérir les connaissances qui puissent les mettre en etat de travailler dans la Ssainte aux progres de la religion Catholique dans leur patrie, en laquelle ils sont tenus de retourner aussi tost après leurs études. Et envisageant d'un autre costé qu'on a scauroit trop prevenir pour le bien de la paix et l'avantage des anciens corps, Les difficultés et entreprises préjudiciables que de nouveaux établissement ne manquent presque jamais d'occasionner, et ou le rapport des commissaires nommées par la deliberation du vingt deux avril dernier. Le procureur general a requis qu'on delibérât sur le tout

Sur qu'à l'université aient delibéré separament par faculté, et ou le procureur-general en ses conclusions, il a été arrêté et choisi par Monsieur le recteur qu l'école, que sera établie dans la communauté des prêtres irlandais située au bas de la fosse paroisse de Saint Nicolas de la ville de Nantes soit réputée et devienne école de l'université l'effet qu les etudiens de la dite école tant de philosophie qu de theologie puissent prendre des grades dans la dite université aux conditions suivantes

Primo. La dite école tant de philosophie qu de theologie ne sera qu pour les seuls ecclesiastiques venus d'Irlande et des autres isles Britaniques en France pour y faire leurs études, et demeurans dans la dite communauté, sans qu aucuns externes de quelques pays, nom ou qualité qu ils soient, même irlandais, puissent prendre des becons dans la dite école.

2<sup>e</sup> Les deux professeurs de philosophie de la dite école se feront recevoir maîtres es arts, et leur mandement de professeurs à la faculté des arts qu le doyen fera assembler à cet effet, indiquant aux dits professeurs le jour et l'heure de la dite assemblée

3<sup>e</sup> Les professeurs de theologie qui ne pouront pas estre plus de deux à la fois seront au moins Bacheliers en theologie avant de commencer le

cours de leurs leçons ; ils seront tenus en outre de prendre le bonnet de docteur en theologie dans la dite université, au moins dans l'espace de trois années, en soutenant les thèses et autres actes qu les Bacheliers ordinaires sont obligés de soutenir, sans que leurs qualités de professeurs puissent les en exempter ; et ils presenteront à la faculté de theologie le mandement qu'ils auront eû de leur Supérieur pour professer suivant l'usage des autres professeurs de theologie.

4° Les dits professeurs de philosophie et de theologie commenceront leur cours de leçons a l'ouverture des ecoles de l'université et ils ne les finiront pas avant la cloture des cours academiques de la dite université. Les dits professeurs donneront aux Sindics des facultés de philosophie et de theologie à l'ouverture des ecoles les noms de leurs ecoliers.

5° Les dits professeurs de theologie et de philosophie auront soin de faire soutenir chaque année, au moins à quelqu'un de leurs ecoliers des actes et thèses publiques en leurs maison et communauté, et ils seront tenus de faire examiner. Et Sindiquer leurs theses, encore bien quelles ne seroient pas destinées a l'impression, scavoir les theses de philosophie par le syndic de la faculté des arts et les theses de theologie par le syndic de la faculté de theologie suivant l'usage et l'arrest de la jour du vingt deux aoust, mil sept cent cinquante neuf ; et leur professeurs avant de faire soutenir se presenteront devant le recteur de l'université pour qu'il leur prescrive le jour et heure convenable des thèses, afin que le dit Sieur Recteur y'assiste si bon lui semble conformement audit arest. Les dits actes et thèses s'ils sont imprimés. Le seront pas l'imprimeur de l'université.

6° A chaque primâ mensis d'aoust les dits professeurs de theologie se presenteront a la faculté de theologie suivant l'usage des ses autres professeurs pour lui indiquer les traittes qu'ils se proposeront de donner a leurs ecoliers dans le cours de l'année suivante et la faculté veillera a ce qu'ils enseigneront a leur dits ecoliers les traittes et matières les plus utiles et les plus convenables ; et pour ce qui est de la philosophie les professeurs enseigneront a leurs ecoliers les differente parties de la philosophie suivant l'usage dans le cours des deux années.

7° Les dits professeurs en theologie enseigneront a leurs ecoliers *les quatre propositions du clerge de france de mil six cent quatre vingt deux et les leur feront soutenir dans les thèses suivant qui les matières le demanderont, et ceur de leurs ecoliers qui voudront prendre des grades en la faculté de theologie seront obligées de soutenir leurs actes pour les dits grades dans la salle ordinaire de la faculté.*

8° Les ecoliers qui apres leurs cours de philosophie voudront se faire recevoir maitres es arts se presenteront a la faculté des arts, pour etre examinés, comme le sont les autres etudians en philosophie apres quoi ils assisteront a l'inauguration solennelle de la Magdaleine pour y recevoir le bonnet de maitre es arts suivant l'usage.

9° En quelque nombre que soient les docteurs Irlandais, anglais, ou eccossais en la faculté de theologie, il n'y aura jamais que les deux professeurs en theologie et exerçant actuellement et reçu docteurs comme il est dit cy dessous a avoir voix et suffrage dans les assemblées et

actes tant de la faculté que de l'université sans qu'ils puissent être suppliées; et quant aux assemblées de l'université qui seront seulement de cérémonies publiques, les autres docteurs pourront y assister sans pouvoir délibérer n'ayant été reçu gratis.

10<sup>e</sup> Les gradués et docteurs irlandais se conformeront en surplus à tous les réglemens des l'université et des facultés s'y devant faite à leur égard, en ce qui ne se trouvera point de contraire aux présentes conditions notamment au sujet du decanat et rectorat.

Il a encore été arrêté et énoncée par Monsieur le Recteur qu'une copie de la présente sera délivrée au Sieur Birne et une autre envoyée à Monsieur le procureur-général du parlement, et que les lettres patentes, arrêt de la cour et requête dont il s'agit seront enregistrées sur le livre des délibérations pour y avoir recours au besoin. Signé petit des Rochettes Recteur Bonnamy p<sup>r</sup> général et Chevillart Greff<sup>r</sup> Secrétaire.

(Signé) CHEVILLART.

Greff<sup>r</sup> Secrétaire.

The 7th article in the Regulation between the University and the Irish College at Nantes is of grave importance, inasmuch as it shows the position of the Irish Church in regard to the rights of the Holy See for some years subsequent, and also the teaching of the National Seminary in reference to it. That the clergy which received its education and much hospitality in France were not influenced by Gallican teaching it would be hard to expect, especially as they promised to receive this doctrine, and perhaps were not sufficiently warned of the opposite. One of the earliest presidents of Maynooth was Dr. O'Byrne, who was Doctor of Sorbonne and Superior of the Irish College at Nantes. It had as its first professors excellent men in other respects: French priests as Anglade and Delahogue. The great body of the Irish clergy were educated in France, and if they could have remained untainted with Gallican ideas it would have been strange indeed.

I will conclude this article by notes from Canon Delorme on this subject regarding Brittany, and the same will hold regarding Ireland, but in a different direction. "At the time Brittany was a province of obedience, and was a duchy subject to the Holy See, the Gallican propositions would have raised protests. But the royal ordinances and decrees of Parliament had so much changed the course of opinion that in the eighteenth century Gallicanism reigned supreme. But once the clergy, which were bound to the State as the first order,



and to whom the princes looked for their chief support, were free their property confiscated, it returned more closely to union with the universal Church and the Sovereign Pontiff." The same course of reasoning in another way may apply to the Irish Church. Necessity forced it for education abroad. It received grateful welcome and assistance, but especially in France. If Gallican teaching affected the theology of the Irish Church in the eighteenth century, freedom of thought in a right sense—closer relations with the Holy See—has made the Church of Ireland, as well as the Church of France, to lay aside such erroneous opinions, and come in full union with the Christian world regarding the rights of the Holy See.

From the restrictions placed by the University regarding the position of Doctor of Theology in the case of the Irish Seminary, we may gather that it was jealous of the influence and talent of the Irish. From many sources we find that, despite poverty and sufferings, they obtained the highest positions in that country. In a list taken from the publications of the time, we find University Doctors A.D. 1748, Dr. Donnellan, residing *à la fosse*, Chaplain of S. Julien, an hospital near the Irish College, and where many Irish priests from time to time occupied the position of Chaplain. In 1757 we find him *Promotor* of the Diocese of Nantes, also an official of the Diocese. Harligan, Vicar-General of the Archbishop of Tuam. Mac Hugo, of the Irish College. 1765. M. O'Byrne, Superior of the Irish College. In 1760, M. Salver, Professor of the Irish College. 1766. O'Loughlen, who in 1783 was Archdeacon of Killaloe in Ireland. Shenan (Sheehan?) Vicar of Kilfenora, in Ireland. O'Donoghue, Recteur of Burr in Ireland. O'Connor, Chaplain of the Regiment of "La Maine." Walsh, Doctor of Sorbonne. 1781. Louis Walsh, Vicar of Ross, in Ireland, who in 1814 was P.P., V.G. Donernale, Cloyne. 1767 Dr. "Picamith" is mentioned as Professor at the Irish College. Was he an Irishman? 1777 O'Flynn, Professor of the Irish College. O'Falon, Professor of the Faculty Irish College. 1779 O'Connor, Vicar of Monzeil, Diocese of Nantes. 1780 John Walsh in Ireland, Vicar of Conna. 1782 O'Riordan in Ireland. I suspect from other notices he was Michael O'Riordan Diocese of Emly. "Granger" also is mentioned. No notice of his diocese or position. In 1784 is mentioned "un très bel

Hôtel dieu, dit l'hospital pour les malades à Nantes pres la Belle Croix—superieure Madame Walsh." Stapleton is also mentioned in 1783, as Professor of the Irish College and Doctor of Divinity with Coyle at Rome. 1787 J. B. Walsh is mentioned as Doctor of Sorbonne, aggregated to that of Nantes, au Chateau de Terrant, Anjou. Stapleton and Coyle are mentioned as in Ireland in 1788. 1789 Shenan (Sheehan ?) is returned as V.G., Kilfenora, Ireland. J. B. Walsh as superior of the Irish College, Paris. Walter Walsh is returned as au Dervatière prés Nantes. In 1792 he is mentioned as in Ireland. At the time of the Revolution the Irish community is represented as follows :

O'Byrne, Patrick James, Superior, doctor of Sorbonne, Vicar General of Armagh,

Coyle, Priest, Doctor in Theology.

O'Connor, Priest, Doctor in Theology.

O'Donoghue, Priest, Doctor in Theology.

Stapleton, Priest, Doctor in Theology.

Walsh, Walter.

Walsh, John Baptiste.

Walsh, Louis.

The seminary contains from 70 to 80 students.

These details are meagre, but in the dioceses to which they belonged others may supply more information regarding them. Daniel O'Byrne, who obtained so many privileges for the college, died in 1788, and was buried in the cemetery of S. Similien on the 18th December in that year. He was succeeded by J. B. Walsh, who was afterwards transferred to Paris as superior of the Irish College there. It was he who established the "Walsh foundation" in that College. He was succeeded by Dr. Patrick James O'Byrne, a native of Clonfeacle parish, Co. Tyrone who, born of highly respectable parents about the year 1757, and educated at home in classics, was then, a circumstance not unusual in those days, ordained Priest, and sent to the Irish College, Paris, to complete his studies, on their termination he stood the usual Thesis and received the degree of Doctor of Sorbonne. He was, after the translation of Dr. Walsh to Paris, named president of the Irish College at Nantes. He held other minor appointments, was sometimes chaplain to the

Duke of Angoulême, and received on his appointment an exquisitely embroidered set of vestments. These, with a chalice presented by Mr. Edward O'Byrne, silk merchant, Paris are in the possession of Dean O'Byrne, V.G. P.P., Dungannon, grand nephew and successor in his positions in Armagh to his grand uncle Dr. O'Byrne. The chalice bears the inscription: "Edwardus O'Byrne, Me fieri fecit ano. Di. 1766. P. T. O'Byrne, S.T.P.D.D. Sem: Hib: Nau: Sup" An. 1790."

Dr. O'Byrne continued to preside over the College until the time of the great Revolution. Though the Irish priests did not mingle with the politics of the day, they were not safe. On August 23rd, 1792, an order of the Department of the Loire Inferieure was made to search the Irish College for Priests who had not taken the Constitutional Oath. 10th September, 1792 on account of complaints made by many "citizens" against some Irish Priests for their conduct towards the National Guard, they were forbidden to leave their College or appear in the streets under pain of imprisonment in the Castle or even expulsion from France. Already they were prevented from saying Mass except in their own Chapel. Probably the cause of complaint was that on account of their position as British subjects they supplied to the Faithful of Nantes the place of their deposed pastors who had not taken the oath. April 5th 1793, we find they were imprisoned in the Carmelite Couvent and received permission to embark on board a ship of their own nationality, "The Peggy" bound for Cork. The Irish Priests had no time to lose. The guillotine already had its victims at Nantes, and scarce had the friends of the Irish secured their safe departure by the "Peggy" from Paimboeuf when the horrors broke out at Nantes which are notorious in history.

Dr. O'Byrne was in Paris, and leaving that city in disguise, narrowly escaped, having his cheek grazed by a bullet. In 1807 June 27, he was named third President of Maynooth College, where he remained for three years. He returned to his native Diocese and filled several positions, and in August 19th 1819, died, having been then Dean, V.G. P.P. Armagh. The College at Nantes, like the other Irish Colleges in France, except that of Paris, did not survive the great Revolution.

The chapel became a store, and subsequently a cartridge factory. In 1848 the National guard used the courtyard of the College for the purpose of drill. In 1857, Dr. Miley, President of the Irish College, Paris, sold the building for 100,000 francs; M. Dobrée, a wealthy merchant, purchased it and pulled down the building, intending to construct on its site a mansion of the style of the 13th century. It remains unfinished, and is called "les folies Dobrées." Though the College has disappeared the memory of the Irish is still cherished at Nantes, as is shewn by the restorations in the Church of St. Similien and N. D. De Miséricorde, and also the visit of the Bishop of that See to Dublin to celebrate the Centenary of O'Connell.

PATRICK HURLEY, P.P.

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## AN ASPECT OF THE TEMPERANCE QUESTION.\*

**I**N the many discussions of the Temperance Question which recent years have seen, one aspect of the subject has received much less attention than from its importance it was fairly entitled to, viz: the character of the more generally used intoxicants themselves. Doubtless this can be accounted for in various ways. To say anything worth saying required a knowledge more or less technical, and implied an accuracy of statement foreign to much of what, for convenience, may be called temperance literature. And it must moreover be admitted that information of any value was scanty and difficult to obtain. A result of this state of things was that the crime and insanity, and misery, associated with the drink question were, in a few rhetorical sentences, attributed to the villainous stuff sold by the publican, and this belief found expression through Parliament in the appointment of a Commission in July, 1890, to investigate and report on the whole question. The terms of the reference will best indicate the scope of the inquiry. "That a Select Committee be appointed to consider whether, on grounds of public health, it is desirable that certain classes of spirits British and foreign, should be kept in hand for a definite period, before they are allowed to pass into consumption." . . . . The Commission has published the result of its labours in two blue books replete with information most valuable, not only to the moral reformer, but to the physician, the chemist, and more particularly with reference to Scotland and Ireland, to the economist as well.

Before noticing the reports in detail, a few general observations occur to even a casual reader, the most important being perhaps the provisional and incomplete way in which the question as a whole has remained for so long, and the halting carefully guarded, one is almost tempted to say, impotent conclusions arrived at by the Commissioners. Science was certainly well represented on the Commission by

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\* Reports 1 and 2, British and Foreign Spirits, July, 1890, and April, 1891

such chemists as Sir Henry Roscoe, Sir Lyon Playfair, and Mr. Boord, who appears to possess the additional advantage of an acquaintance with the methods actually in use for the production of spirits. And the examination of Dr Bell and Mr. Samuels, Principals of the Inland Revenue and Customs Laboratories, and of such authorities on dietetics as Drs. Pavy and Lauder-Brunton, probably supplies as much accurate information as can be had in the present state of our knowledge. It should perhaps be stated that what follows has reference more particularly to Scotland and Ireland where whiskey is the national beverage, than to England where beer is the general drink. But in England the quantity of home manufactured spirits consumed is now so great (in the year ended 31st March, 1890, it was 16,853,723 gallons at proof) that the question is only relatively of less importance.

As has been said, in popular discussions on the temperance question, the physical and moral disorders incidental to drunkenness were, more especially in the case of the humbler classes, freely attributed to the character of the intoxicants they habitually used. It was believed that the spirits supplied them were generally very impure, an article only recently manufactured, and largely contaminated with the bye-products of its manufacture—the well-known “fusel oil.” Adulteration with noxious drugs was asserted to be by no means uncommon, and occasionally, one heard legends of an article sold in the poorest quarters of large towns, and at fairs and races, into the composition of which not even a trace of ethylic alcohol—the intoxicating principle of all fermented beverages—entered. Violence and insanity found a ready explanation at hand in the supposed maddening effect of this “new” or sophisticated spirit, and in France, where the consumption of spirits in recent years has greatly increased, the Government, owing to the marked increase of insanity in certain districts, found it expedient to appoint a Commission to examine the entire subject, and more particularly with reference to the public health. That Commission appears to have done its work very thoroughly, and broadly, its recommendations may be said to have insisted on the manufacture of a chemically purer product. In Germany the

physiological effects of alcohol have been investigated by Brockhaus, and in Italy, an investigation undertaken some years since at the instance of the Government by Guareschi and Mosso into the nature of the ptomaines, has led to results which, as will subsequently appear, have an important bearing on the subject in hand. These ptomaines are bodies formed by the putrefaction of albumen, alkaloids closely akin to strychnine. An instance of their deadly effect will be in the recollection of most readers, in the case of a mother and four children who died near Dublin a few years since, having it was believed, taken the poison in mussels supposed to have been unfit for human food.

Such then, being the general state of the question, in Scotland and Ireland, spirit drinking countries, the evil effects of recently distilled spirits were greatly modified, and the noxious ingredients changed into bodies which imparted certain agreeable qualities to the spirits, by keeping the latter in warehouse for periods, varying from one to seven or eight years. The similar practice of allowing wine to mature by age, has, as shown by Sir Lyon Playfair in his examination of Dr. Brunton, the verdict of high antiquity in its favour. "Has it not been the experience of mankind as recorded in the Bible and other places that old and new wine have a different result." "Certainly, we find it noted in the Acts of the Apostles that men were said to be 'full of new wine,' indicating that the new wine seemed to have a more exciting action than the old." "And, again, I think if you go to Saint Luke, 'No man having drunk old wine straightway desireth new, for he saith the old is better?'" "Yes." "So that the experience of ages has been that old and mellowed drinks are better than the new ones?" "Certainly so." From time to time efforts were made in Parliament to obtain a provision in the law making it compulsory on spirit dealers to keep all spirits in warehouse for at least one year, and in Canada such an enactment is at present in force. In view of these facts it was something of a surprise to be informed by Dr. Bell (first report) that the only effect of ageing was rendering spirits more mellow and agreeable, that as far as fusel oil the supposed deleterious ingredient, was concerned, it practically remained unchanged after years; that though changes



resulting in the formation of certain agreeable ethers took place, the nature of these changes was a matter of opinion and conjecture only. There were in fact no ascertained scientific data in support of such opinion.

About 1832 a method of distillation was invented, which produced a spirit free from the impurities which invariably accompanied the product of the older method employed in Scotland and Ireland. but this spirit though chemically pure is insipid and flavourless, and does not improve with age. Whether as a stimulant one took this new spirit or matured whiskey was, according to Dr. Bell, entirely a matter of taste. The former had *per se* no injurious effects. The evidence of the next witness, Mr. Samuels, which may be described as having a certain physiological value, involving as it did experiments on himself, appears to conflict with Dr. Bell's conclusions; for he states that this new spirit when used as a beverage produced marked dyspepsia, whereas no such effect followed from old whiskey, even when fusel oil had been added to it in small quantities. The value of these experiments is, however, discounted by Dr. Brunton, who thus negatively, so far supports the views of the first witness.

How, then, is this discrepancy between popular belief sanctioned by antiquity, and founded as it must be on general observation, to be reconciled with the scientific interpretation of the same facts? The explanation is furnished by the further evidence of Dr. Bell (second report), and that of Drs. Pavy and Lauder-Brunton. It is in fact no other than the confusion arising from the equivocal use of the term "fusel oil." This "fusel oil" is a bye-product of the manufacture of spirits, and consists chiefly of a mixture of the higher alcohols of the same series as ethylic alcohol, the intoxicating principle of all fermented beverages, the particular higher alcohol in excess being determined by the materials used in the manufacture. Thus, the fusel oil of brandy made from wine, whiskey made from malt and from potatoes, will consist mainly of amylic alcohol, but with a considerable proportion of propylic alcohol in the first case. Now, although it has been shown by the French chemists, Beaumetz and Audijé, that these higher alcohols possess a greater toxic effect than ordinary (ethylic) alcohol, there is



general agreement that the quantity of the former present in ordinary spirits is so small that, taken in water by themselves they produce no evil effects, and, consequently, if, as appears to have been taken for granted in the early part of the inquiry, "fusel oil" be regarded as consisting of those higher alcohols only, no adequate reason is found for the injurious effects of new spirits. As the inquiry proceeds it appears that "fusel oil" must be regarded as a more complex product than a simple mixture of the higher alcohols. The presence of bodies known as furfor-alcohol and furfural, probably derived from the husk of the grain, is shown, and of the latter Dr. Brunton states his belief that it may cause a form of actual madness. "The dogs employed by Curci in his experiments were evidently for the time being mad." "He uses the word 'rabid' in describing the effects produced upon the dogs."

Reference has been already made to an investigation by Italian chemists into the nature of the ptomaines. It was found in these researches a difficult matter to obtain a spirit free from alkaloids, or at least from bodies giving the reaction of alkaloids, a result probably due to the putrefaction of a small portion of albumen in the materials from which the spirits had been obtained. This discovery is an exceedingly interesting one, and indicates a line of inquiry, which in all probability will yield very fruitful results. It was noticed in Sweden, in 1849, that spirits made in that year from decayed maize, produced peculiarly bad effects, and Lombroso found that this decayed maize generated an alkaloid closely akin to strychnine, with other bodies of a highly poisonous nature. It has not been proved that these bodies would pass over in distillation, but, as Dr. Brunton says "the coincidence noticed by Huz between the injurious effects of the spirits drunk in that particular year, and the decayed condition of the grain from which that spirit had been obtained seems to indicate that there was some connection between this injurious action and bye-products of an unusual nature." The quantity of these bodies present must be, of course, extremely small, but their effects are so great that, as shown by this witness,  $\frac{1}{8}$  part of a grain of Hyoscyne a closely related alkaloid has, when given in medicine produced a sleep lasting for

24 hours. Another suggestive clue to the presence of alkaloids is furnished by the peculiar dryness of the mouth following the abuse, and sometimes even the use in small quantities of spirits and wines. This is so remarkable as to make its explanation by the use of ordinary alcohol very difficult, and what follows is so interesting and ingenious that it will be given in Dr. Brunton's own words.

Now atropine and the other bodies which are allied to it, have got this effect too, that they paralyse the secreting nerves of the salivary glands, and render the mouth so dry that it becomes almost impossible for the patient to swallow. I might perhaps be allowed to point out that potato spirit is sometimes looked upon as being particularly injurious, and the potato, although itself perfectly harmless, belongs to a natural order where these poisons, atropine and its congeners, are specially developed, and some people have an idea that although the tuber of the potato is perfectly healthy to eat, yet the water in which the potato has been boiled is not quite sound; and I believe that in some places they will not give potato water to pigs."

Here, by the way, a curious confirmation of this view is furnished by the French chemists, a confirmation which appears to have escaped Dr. Brunton. In classifying the alcohols obtained from different materials according to their toxic power, in an ascending order, potato spirit occupies the "bad eminence" of being highest: that obtained from wine being lowest thus suggesting a close genetic connection between the useful article of everyday food, and some deadly members of the order to which it belongs: the potato having in fact, in its raw state what Dr. Johnson would describe as the potentiality of evil. In expanding the meaning of the term "fusel oil" Dr. Bell attributes more particularly to furfor alcohol and furfural many of the evil effects of new spirits. As shown by Curci in his experiments on dogs, their chief effect lies in throwing the animal into a cataleptic state. Thus, when furfor-alcohol has been injected into the veins of a dog, the animal becomes frisky and lively and appears to be very happy, but it soon becomes very drunk, falling about on either side and beating its head against the furniture, a symptom indicating possibly the presence of head-ache. The closely connected furfural produces different effects, 'the animal becoming depressed and furious,' and being, as Curci says, 'possessed with a kind of sad fury.'

Approaching the subject from the popular side, Dr. Branton supplies some very curious observations, founded on Baile's Book of Sports, and the scientific explanation of those observations. Thus excess of brandy and wine have a tendency to make a man fall upon his side: Irish, and whiskey in general, make him fall forward, and cider and perry make him fall upon his back. This difference in the effects of various stimulants which agrees with what might be produced by definite injury to various parts of the cerebellum, is attributed to the bye-products of the intoxicants used "thus, when the anterior part of the middle lobe of the cerebellum is injured the animal tends to fall forward. With injury to the posterior part of the middle lobe of the cerebellum, a tendency to fall backward is observed, and generally the different bye-products in those different classes of spirit tend to act upon particular parts of the nervous system, and to cause in them such changes as to lead to the falling of a man one time on his face, at another on his back, at another upon his side: just as if different parts of his cerebellum had been touched with the knife of an operator."

From the examination of those reports which has been attempted, it is sufficiently clear that, on the whole, popular belief has been right in attributing the terrible attendant effects of intemperance to the character of the drink consumed, more particularly by the humbler classes. It is not correct to place all the evil to the credit of "fusel oil," but it requires only a slight modification of this term so as to include other bye-products of manufacture to find in it an adequate explanation. Want of food of proper quality and quantity is of course a factor in the question and has no doubt, an important bearing on the maddening effect of spirits—spirits which may on the whole be chemically pure—but which may easily contain sufficient traces of deadly alkaloid to cause violence and insanity when taken in any but the most moderate quantity. Can, then, nothing be done to lessen the evils of intemperance by supplying a more wholesome beverage? As far as the recommendations of this Commission go the answer it is feared, must be in the negative.

One of the most important witnesses assures us that we are only in the commencement of our knowledge of the bye

products of spirits, though most people who take an interest in these things will probably consider the effects of those products already ascertained sufficiently ghastly.

There is a gleam of hope in the assurance that a taste for older and milder drinks is growing—a result, no doubt, of a higher civilisation—but one can hardly take an optimistic view of the practice, also growing, of supplying an article, blended of new and German spirit in the place of old and matured spirit. This is one result of competition in trade, and the principle of *laissez faire*, a principle which by the way in recent economics has been shorn of much of the veneration with which it was regarded by the older school of political economists. It is reassuring to be informed that of fifty samples of spirits obtained from houses in the poorest parts of large towns, no evidence of adulteration with noxious drugs was found, the spirits were, in fact, a mixture of whiskey and German spirit.

The establishment of standards of purity does not appear to be practicable. Such standards are in use in Switzerland, but depending, as they do, on the quantity of bye-products present in a given sample, the application of the Swiss standard would secure the rejection of what, by common consent, is regarded as a wholesome beverage in these countries. Dealing with the keeping of spirits in bond for a definite period before being allowed to pass into consumption, the Commissioners cannot recommend the enactment of such a provision. They state that, “the testimony was practically unanimous that compulsory bonding would harass trade, and was altogether unnecessary, and that this opinion was given by experts from England, Scotland and Ireland.”

It has been said that for Scotland and Ireland, spirit consuming countries, the evidence given in these reports possesses a special value. For Ireland, where the food supply of a considerable number of the people is so very inadequate, the temptation to supply the want in part by recourse to spirits is a strong one, and there is, moreover, the force of inherited habit and social custom to increase the difficulty of the moral reformer. Further reference to these habits and customs does not fall within the scope of this notice. It is, of course, a very obvious remark that even a superficial



acquaintance with Irish history, and especially that of the last century, supplies in great part, an explanation of their existence. Nor is it intended to suggest that in this respect the Irish people are greater sinners than their neighbours. As a matter of fact, the consumption per head of the population is a half more in Scotland than in Ireland, but the condition of the poorer classes in Ireland renders them more susceptible to the effects of stimulants than their more prosperous neighbours.

Readers of Irish literature will readily remember the part played by the illicit spirit bottle in the narratives of Irish writers' narratives, many of which require little of the novelist's skill to add to their terrible reality. It is to be feared that in many of the outrages in the earlier years of recent troubles, the same devilish agent had no mean part. In the Maamtrasna tragedy, for instance, it was very generally believed amongst men familiar with the west of Ireland that those who had a hand in that dreadful business were literally maddened by illicit spirits.

One can form a fairly correct notion of what whiskey can do amongst the poor and underfed, even when it has been manufactured with care, and from suitable materials. Curri and Strassman's experiments on dogs furnish reliable information of the effects of the impurities of spirits on those animals and by inference on human beings. What then may not be expected from men who have partaken freely of an article manufactured by a very primitive method, and in all probability from materials of a bad kind—a product from which scarcely any of those impurities have been removed. Judged by ordinary standards these men are practically insane.

Some apology is perhaps necessary for the introduction of material foreign to a notice in its nature more or less technical and scientific. But the bearing of this side of the subject on the moral side is close, and it may be fairly assumed that the relation of the question to the interests of Catholic people is sufficient to warrant the addition to an article in the DUBLIN REVIEW

T. B. GREYER

## SOME PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF CARDINAL MANNING WHEN ARCHDEACON OF CHICHESTER.

I AM asked to write my personal reminiscences of the late Cardinal Manning in his Anglican days, when Archdeacon of Chichester; as I am one out of few now living whose memory of him goes back to more than 50 years ago.

The first time I remember to have heard his name mentioned was in 1839, when I first went to Oxford. The "Oxford Tracts," and other publications of Newman, Pusey, Keeble, and others of the Catholicising school at Oxford, had been read by my mother and sister from the beginning, and they became what would then have been called very High Church. I did not care about such studies, and went to the University resolved to keep clear of *Tractarianism*, and so I did for my first year. My mother, who was staying at Hastings, had made up her mind to take a house at Chichester in order to be near the Cathedral, and be able to attend the daily morning and evening choral service. I went over to Chichester to find her a house. When she went there to reside, Archdeacon Manning called on her, and from that time he became an intimate friend, often calling when business of his office brought him into the Cathedral City.

I remember, on the first vacation from Oxford that I spent at Chichester, seeing the Archdeacon for the first time - his grand head, bald even then his dignified figure in his long white surplice, occupying the Archdeacon's stall in the Cathedral. His face was to me some first dim revelation of the meaning of the *supernatural in man*. I have never forgotten it, I see him as vividly now in my mind's eye as when I first beheld him. I think it was the beginning of reflected thought in my soul. Somehow, by one of those mysterious links of thought which come from God's Providential guidance, I at once connected his face with those of the old Churchmen of Catholic times that I had seen in stained glass windows, and in the portraits of the whole line

of Catholic Bishops painted in long order on the walls of the South Transept of the Cathedral. They began, I think, with S. Richard of Chichester and ended with the last Catholic Bishop in the reign of Mary Tudor.

I suppose this, in part, led me for the first time to take some interest in the studies of my mother and sister. I read "*Froude's Remains*" and Faber's "*Foreign Churches and Foreign Peoples*." These opened to me an entirely new view of Christianity. Hitherto I had, without reflection, really thought that Catholics were not, properly speaking, Christians. The "*Book of Homilies*" of the Church of England, containing its most authoritative statements and doctrines, said that, before the Reformation of Christianity in the Protestant countries, the nominally Christian world "for 800 years had been drowned in damnable idolatry." The thirty-nine articles, as they stand in the "*Book of Common Prayer*," denounce in such terms "the errors of the Church of Rome," which, as there stated, seemed so glaring, that I was led naturally not to think of Roman Catholics as Christians. I supposed that Protestantism was the same as primitive Christianity.

I had indeed some Catholic cousins, and they were living near us. I could not doubt that they were good. I supposed they were better than then creed, that their goodness had kept them from being idolaters, and that some day they would become good Protestants like the rest of us. I knew Thomas à Kempis' "*Imitation of Christ*" a favourite book of my father's and that the writer was a Catholic, of course too good to imitate the errors of his system. But in fact I had never reflected on religious questions or even spoken on them with a Catholic.

When once I had discovered, from reading "*Froude*" and "*Faber*" that the Catholic Church was Christian, and was the old Christianity of England a great reaction took place in my mind, and I reflected a good deal on the matter. I returned to Oxford after the vacation. "*Tract 90*" was, I think, published about this time by Newman and this confirmed all the notions that had been growing up in my mind. Newman's Sermons at St. Mary's deepened all my thoughts. Pusey's Sermons and Tracts about Baptism

completed the moral and intellectual revolution—I began to have a notion of sin—of my personal sins.

It happened that I now read a Catholic book, "Milner's End of Controversy," and I saw clearly, for the first time, that the Church of England professed to hold the ancient Catholic doctrine of *Confession* and *Absolution*. It was plainly stated in the "Church Prayer Book," in the "Service of Ordination," and of the "Visitation of the Sick." This was just what I felt in need of; on the other hand, the neglect of what it admits to be a divine institution of such immense importance to the soul, and this for three hundred years by the Church of England, unsettled my faith in its being any part of the Catholic Church. I was on the point of becoming a Catholic.

The vacation came and I returned home, and my mother seeing my state of mind was greatly distressed, and begged me to see Archdeacon Manning.

Well do I remember riding from Chichester over the Sussex Downs, a distance of perhaps eight miles, to pay a visit to the Archdeacon at his Rectory at Lavington. It is a lovely wood clothed valley or hill side just under the Downs. I remember the picturesque old country church, early English in character, with the round apse for the altar so common in Sussex churches. My visit made a great impression on me. All seemed, like the Archdeacon himself, to be part of the old Catholic Church which was in England. It woke up in me the hope that, after all, England was a part of the Universal Church—of the Church of St. Augustine, and of the old Fathers and School men, of the great Saints and founders of the Cathedrals and Monasteries.

I could not see how this could be, but I felt that men like Newman and Manning were more likely to be right in staying in the Church of England, and trying to bring back all the old heritage of truth, than I could be in leaving it to join the Church of Rome. When I began to talk with the Archdeacon I felt overawed. I could not put my doubts into any form which could bear his penetrating eye, so we did not go into controversy. He wanted me to go back to Oxford to take my degree, and then become a clergyman. He advised me to seek hard work among the poor and ignorant in some one of our great cities. Dean Hook, and others more advanced Anglicans,



at the new church of St. Saviour's, Leeds, founded by Dr. Pusey were, it was said, doing a great work there. What could be better for me than to join them? So I should be 'doing the work of God and should know of the doctrine that it was of God.' It was good advice, so I felt, and I resolved to ponder it.

Just at this point a visitor arrived, one of name and position in the political world, and a Member of Parliament, so I had no more conversation with the Archdeacon. I dined with him—a very frugal meal, cold boiled beef. I remember it was hard. I remember nothing else.

Seeing he was engaged with his visitor I retired to my room, and I heard them talking in the room below me—the library—until the small hours after midnight. Early the next day I rode back over the hills to my home.

My friends were greatly comforted by my comparatively composed state of mind. I tried to go to confession to a very High Church Cathedral dignitary who, I believed, was of the same advanced school as Newman and Manning, but he was so taken aback by my proposal evidently the first time any one had proposed to go to confession, that in his perplexity he left the room, I supposed to take advice from his lady-wife. When he came back, he said he really could not undertake to hear my confession without consulting the Archdeacon. So I went away. The vacation over, I returned to Oxford, and, for the first time in my life, I began in earnest, working hard at my studies. In due time I passed my final examination and took my degree—in order to which I had to take an oath or make a subscription that "the Pope hath no authority in this realm of England." This I felt I could never do again, yet I must do it if I took Orders in the Church of England.

A little before this, Archdeacon Manning came up to preach in his turn the University Sermon. I heard him, and the result was that I resolved to go to confession to him.

He was staying at Merton College, of which he had formerly been a Fellow. It was arranged that I should go to him on the next day. He was waiting for me and taking the keys of the Church we entered that beautiful gem of fourteenth century Gothic. I do not think I had seen it before. I do

not remember to have seen it since, but I well remember the solemn impression of the place in its "dim religious light." When we were alone in the Church, he locked the door, and having put on his surplice he led me to the altar rail and made me kneel there. He read over me, from the large folio Service Book, the prayer "Renew in him most loving Father whatsoever hath been decayed by the fraud and malice of the devil, or by his own carnal will and frailty, &c." I have never forgotten the deep seriousness of those moments. Then I made my confession, but in a most imperfect manner: he asked me not a question, but I believe I made it with such sincerity and resolve against sin, that I have great hope that, quite independent of the words of absolution, God gave me the grace of true contrition.

So far as I can remember, I think the Archdeacon advised me, then or soon after, to accept a kind offer I had received from Newman to go and stay with him at Littlemore, and prepare for Ordination. This he certainly would not have done, had he not thought it was the last chance left of keeping me in the Church of England, for he and Newman were not in each other's confidence, and Tract 90, which was an attempt of Newman to reconcile the 39 Articles with the Council of Trent, had amazed and shocked him much. He thought it likely to send some at least to Rome, if it retained many as Newman hoped, in the Church of England. About a year after this I became a Catholic, in August 1843. That time at Oxford was the last I saw of Archdeacon Manning, we did not meet again until I greeted him in London about seven years afterwards, when he had just made his submission to the Catholic Church and was staying in South Audley Street.

At the time I knew him at Chichester, Lavington, and Oxford, he had no shadow of doubt that the Church of England was a part of the Catholic Church.

Strange to say, he never seems to have doubted it until the memorable *Gorham case*, in which it was decided by the Law Courts that, in the Church of England as by Law Established, it was open to any Clergyman to teach that Baptism is a Sacrament of divine institution by which original and actual sin is remitted, and the soul becomes a living

" Temple of God," or on the other hand, to teach that no supernatural grace is given in Baptism.

The decision, it seems, opened the eyes of Manning and of many others, to the fact that the Church of England, for it acquiesced in the decision, was no part of the Church at all, but was simply an institution founded *de novo* out of the ruins of the old Church that had been destroyed by the Tudor Sovereigns, when the mass of the clergy and people left the Roman obedience and accepted the " Royal Supremacy."

With the Ex-Archdeacon went out into Catholic Communion many whose names are well known, and many more, unknown in fame. Among the former were Hope Scott, Bishop Archdeacon Wilberforce and his brother Henry, Lady Georgiana Fullerton, Lady Lothian, Lady Herbert of Lea, and others of some note.

The Cardinal used to say " the *Gorham case* was a revelation to us; we saw clearly for the first time that the Church of England was a human institution, that when we separated in the sixteenth century from the Holy See we left the Church."

In connection with this there was another saying of Manning's, for ever memorable. Some who were convinced that the existing status of the Church of England, under the servitude of the State, was intolerable, proposed secession from the State Church, and the starting of a Free Church of England, as Scotch Presbyterians had lately done. " No," said Manning " three hundred years ago we left a good ship for a boat, I am not going to leave the boat for a tub."

He lost no time in carrying out his determination, and, in 1851, he made his submission to the Catholic Church.

Until he actually took this step I do not think that Newman, and those that went with him in 1845 into Catholic communion, believed that the Archdeacon would ever become a Catholic. It was thought for certain, while I was with Newman at Littlemore, that he meant to remain an Anglican, that he would become a bishop, and, in fact that he had a great career before him in the Church of England. No one was more opposed than he to secessions to the Roman communion. When I was received into the Catholic Church he told my mother, " I would rather follow a friend to the grave than hear

he had taken such a step.' He meant it, and felt it his duty to say it, for he did not like to say harsh things.

My mother followed me into the Church after two years, my sister after seven; she lived and died a Franciscan Nun under Archbishop Manning's direction. My mother had begun to doubt the position of the Anglican Church. A short time before she became a Catholic, Archdeacon Manning was calling on her at Chichester. She ventured to say "But Mr Archdeacon, are you quite sure of the validity of Anglican Orders?" His answer was astonishingly curt and decided - "Am I sure of the existence of God?" adding "You are a good deal too like your dear son."

These things show how far he was, six or seven years before his submission, from thinking it possible that he could ever leave the Church of England. It may seem strange to some, especially to some Anglicans, how, from feeling so certain of Anglican Orders, on becoming a Catholic he took the opposite opinion as to their validity.

I think the answer is,—when he was an Anglican he believed that the Anglican was an integral part of the Catholic Church. Sacraments which depend on the Sacrament of Order are a Divine Institution in the Church of God, we cannot therefore doubt that, since God is true, His providence would not permit the loss of Sacraments in any large part of the Church for centuries, and this without knowledge of the fact. When he was convinced that the Church of England was no part of the Catholic Church this argument for the validity of Anglican Orders vanished from his mind and the grave doubts as to the various facts of history which are the technical proof offered for the validity of Anglican Orders, lost all cogency and interest. He felt it was not *the question*. The question on which all turned was the divine institution of the Papal chair—the Church essentially visible—one and indivisible. Anglican Orders, valid or invalid, could neither make nor mar. If Anglican Orders were as certainly valid as Greek the Church of England would still be a schism from Catholic unity.

I should be trenching on the province of another writer if I attempted to continue my personal recollections of the late



Archdeacon, now Father Manning—a priest of the diocese of Westminster.

He was returning to Rome to continue his studies. I had been ordered to Rome on account of my health, to spend the winter there, and I had the pleasure of being his companion on the journey. We went by Paris to Marseilles, and thence by steamboat, by Genoa, Leghorn, Civita Vecchia, and by the carriage to Rome. We arrived there for the 4th of November, S. Charles'-Day, 1853. It was the hottest weather I ever remember. He went to reside at the *Accademia Ecclesiastica* in the Piazza della Minerva, and I to take up my abode with the Procurator-General of my Order. We often had walks together.

On our return to London in the following spring he induced Cardinal Wiseman to entrust to me the founding of a new mission at Kingsland, a middle-class suburb in the north of London. Not long after, on the death of Cardinal Wiseman, he became my Archbishop. Twenty years later he placed me and the other Father of Charity in charge of St. Etheldreda's, Holborn, in the midst of London labour and the London poor. His words to us when he came to inaugurate our new establishment were: "I wanted you to come here because I wished you to launch out into the deep and let down your nets for a draft." I have had the invaluable blessing of his friendship and guidance for fifty years. Such bonds are not snapped without a sore wrench.

May his spirit be with me still, and may we meet once more and for ever in the Eternal Blessedness.

WILLIAM LOCKHART.

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## EPISODES IN THE LIFE OF CARDINAL 'MANNING IN HIS ANGLICAN DAYS.

**I**T has often been said of Cardinal Manning, that his Anglican days is to him a page in his life finished and turned down. It may, indeed, be a closed book, as far as his public action or speech is concerned, to the outside world; but to himself his early life with its hopes and disappointments, its struggles and sufferings, and its hand-fought victory is a page on which his memory ever lingered with a half-sad pleasure. The friends of his youth, his co-partners in hope, his fellow-workers in a cause he held sacred, were unto the last dear to his memory.

Yet dearer by far to his heart were those, of whom since he became Catholic, he rarely or ever spoke—his own kith and kin, brothers and sisters. With one exception,\* they all remained where he had left them in the church of their baptism. "My dear brother Frederick," the Cardinal once said to me, "is like a Spanish hidalgo in his high sense of honour and in his loyalty and allegiance to the church of his baptism. He looked upon my leaving the Church of England as an act of disloyalty which he never forgave. Since that day we have never met: no letter has ever passed between us." The Cardinal spoke of his brother with great affection and respect. He added, "I saw him twice; once at a railway station; once in my carriage I passed him in the street." On his death his brother bequeathed to the Cardinal some family heirlooms and books. "But what I treasure most," said the Cardinal, pointing to a book-shelf, "are those two volumes in which my brother bound up all my letters to him. It shows, that though we never met, his affection for me still survived." His brothers and sisters held aloof from him for the most

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\* His elder brother, the late Mr. Charles John Manning, of Pendell Court, Surrey, was received into the Church on the 7th of April, 1852, by Monsignor Talbot at the Trinità de Monti, Rome. His wife, Mrs. Charles Manning, was received on the day of the Cardinal's Ordination in 1851; and soon afterwards the sons and daughters, one of whom was Monsignor Manning, founder of St. Charles' College, Bayswater, became Catholics.

part; yet, if estranged from him in religion, their hearts were from first to last knit together in the closest ties of mutual esteem, affection, and love.

To show how fully the Cardinal shared this family affection, I will recite here one passage from a letter to a near relative, written almost on the eve of his departure from out of the Church of England—that time of trial for him and for them who were bound to him by ties of family affection. The letter is dated—

My dearest ———

Lavington, 1850.

. . . . . I feel sad at the thought of leaving you all; for my heart holds fast to you; and faster the worse the times are . . . . . My last letter I fear gave you no comfort. But, dearest ———, I dare not betray the Truth. . . . . Give my very affectionate love to ———

H. E. M. \*

They, who only knew the Cardinal slightly or superficially, had no conception of the depth and tenderness of his loving nature. No man was more misunderstood in this respect by the bulk of those who venerated him as their Cardinal Archbishop. The numerous and affectionate letters that passed between him and his relatives prove this beyond dispute or doubt. Especially do I wish to emphasize—and it is within my own knowledge—that this affection is not one-sided, but mutual. The following passage from a long letter—I wish I had space to transcribe the whole of it in these pages—will prove the point. It is addressed to a near relative (Anglican). The letter is dated†——

Archbishop's House, Westminster, S.W.,

My dear ———

January 9th, 1882.

. . . . . Frederick had kept all my letters to him, and had them put into two bound guard books. Dear brother, I never knew how much he cared for me. Some of his letters are most affecting. Indeed, I have been more touched and surprised than I can say at all your letters and those of my father and mother . . . . . never for a day have I forgotten them at the Altar in the Holy Mass.

H.E.C.A.

Indeed, it was his brother's great affection for the Cardinal

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\* Cardinal Manning's Private Letters.

† *Ibid.*

which stood in the way of their meeting. A like cause, coupled, perhaps, with fear of his influence, operated with other members of his family, who, after he became a Catholic, though their love survived to the last, held aloof from him. The sole survivor of a family of nine, of whom the Cardinal was the youngest, confirms this statement in a letter to me, one passage from which I have permission to recite. It is as follows:—

*It is quite true* that there never was the slightest diminution of affection between them. It was Frederick's (my second brother's) great love for the Cardinal that would have made meeting so painful, and my brother's wife fully shared the same feeling. For myself, though fully sharing it, I had not the courage to deprive myself of his loved society, nor did I see the necessity, so by God's mercy our mutual love was cherished to the end, though failing health on both sides precluded of late our meeting.

Of this brother and sister in particular the Cardinal often spoke in terms of affection. In reference to the members of his own family, as well as to his friends and fellow-workers in the old days, the Cardinal said:—

I left them, not they me. I went over the bridge, they, too many of them, stayed behind. I did not consider it right or proper or comporting with the dignity of the Cause I represent by making advances to subject myself to a rebuff. But I met more than half way those who held out a hand to me. We parted, they held aloof from me; but not one, I verily believe, of my friends in those days of trial bore ill will against me personally, or even resented my quitting their side. They avoided me because they were in fear of my influence over their hearts and minds. We remained friends, though apart, for a lifetime.

To listen to the venerable Cardinal, reviving with such vivid touches of graphic description the memories of his Anglican days, is to feel persuaded that, whatever may be the case as regards his external relations or life in public, his heart is not divorced from the scenes in which he played a foremost part, from their joys and sorrows, from the labours and trials; triumphs, too, and rewards of half a lifetime.

Hence it was that the Cardinal took a genuine and lively interest in the "Life" which, with his assistance, I wrote in the years 1887-8-9. The First Volume, "Henry Edward

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\* A meeting was to have taken place just before Christmas, but was postponed owing to the severity of the weather.



*Manning in his Anglican Days*," was to have been published in his lifetime : the Second Volume, comprising his Catholic life, was to appear after his death. In regard to the nature and extent of the Cardinal's assistance, it was to be limited, as understood from the first, to his public life : to the growth and character of his religious principles ; to his personal relations with his contemporaries ; to the conflicts and controversies of the day ; and to the prolonged struggle, in which he took a leading part, to secure "the independence of the Church as a divine witness to the Faith." Such facts and circumstances within his own knowledge as threw light on contemporary events were placed at my disposal as material to work upon—to be examined with critical care ; to be accepted or rejected, wholly or in part, according to the weight of evidence. Of this liberty I have availed myself to the full. All documents, records, diaries, and letters, in so far as they were connected with events in his life, the Cardinal permitted me to read, to transcribe, or to take notes of. His private Diary, kept whilst he was at Rome during the Revolutionary year 1847-8, which, as the Cardinal told me, had been seen by no eye but his, had never passed out of his hands, was placed in mine, to make what use of I liked. It is most invaluable as throwing light upon his mind at a critical moment, and as recording the impressions which the Catholic system and worship in foreign lands and at Rome produced, especially when contrasted with the Anglican system at home.

It would be out of place in these pages, preliminary in a sense to the "Life" of the Cardinal, to do more than merely record how much I owe to the kind aid of four or five of the Cardinal's still, or but recently, surviving contemporaries. By correspondence or in personal intercourse they made me fully acquainted with the Cardinal's early life at home, at Oxford, at Lavington, or in the larger world in which, later on, he played so prominent a part. In his kindness, and out of his great regard for the Cardinal, Mr Gladstone gave me invaluable information of Manning in his Anglican days, when he and Mr Gladstone stood shoulder to shoulder in defence of the Anglican cause.

"You are only just in time," said Mr. Gladstone, five

years ago, "for Manning's contemporaries are dropping off one by one, and all the intimate knowledge I possess of his life in his Anglican days; of his character and influence; of the high opinion entertained of him by some of his greatest contemporaries, had you not undertaken to write his 'Life,' would have died with me unrecorded."

In this manner I have obtained a life-picture which, had I only the power to transfer it, even in part, to paper, would have added a deeper and more intimate knowledge of the earlier life and character of one, whose loss all who knew and loved him deplore to-day from the bottom of their heart.

The publication during his lifetime of the history of his Anglican days was laid aside at the Cardinal's wish. Up to the time of his serious illness in the winter of 88-9 the Cardinal was, I may say, eager for its publication. Afterwards his mind changed on the subject, caused in part, no doubt, by the depression due to his illness; in part, to that nervous apprehension, which was one of the most characteristic elements in the Cardinal's mind, of the results of any work or action appertaining to things Catholic, in which he had not a guiding or controlling hand. Love of power has often been attributed to the Cardinal. "His finger is in every man's pie." And so it was, not from love of power, but from an intense fear that others would make a mess of it. No Catholic movement, ecclesiastical or lay; no work, secular or religious, he was firmly persuaded in his own mind, would be safe or free from blunders or bungling, unless it were in his own hands. Conscious of his own capacity and skill, he mistrusted, perhaps somewhat over much, the capacity or skill of others. Hence, perhaps not unnaturally, the unpopularity, limited indeed to the more active-minded among the clergy and laity, which attached itself to the Cardinal in the earlier days of his ecclesiastical rule.

I am glad indeed to seize, or rather to make an opportunity denied to me elsewhere in the shackles or restraint of space under which I am working, to remove from so great and successful a ruler the reproach of an undue love of power.

Resuming the immediate subject, from which I have purposely made a digression, I have only to add, that after his illness in '89, this natural, inherent nervousness of results revived in the Cardinal in regard to his "Anglican life." On one occasion, in almost a pathetic tone, the Cardinal said "Don't you think you had better leave what you have to say of me till after I am dead."

I all the more readily acquiesced in the Cardinal's desire, as I had long ago discovered the impossibility of squaring his own theory of his life with the actual facts and circumstances of the case. Hence his decision was a greater relief to my mind even than to the Cardinal's own.

It is as easy to write an eulogy of one so richly endowed by Nature and Grace : with his right hand and his left so full of good works, done in the full glare of the day, or seen only of God, of heart so kindly, so masterful in action as the late Cardinal Manning : as easy as it is difficult to arrive at a just and adequate estimate of a character so complex and at times so contradictory. I cannot separate, even if I would, Manning in his Catholic from Manning in his Anglican days ; the Cardinal Archbishop from the Archdeacon of Chichester or the Rector of Lavington. "To speak of me in my Anglican days," said the Cardinal, "is like speaking of Noah before he went into the Ark." I cannot help it. To understand the character of a man aright, it does not suffice indeed it is utterly misleading to contemplate only the ripened perfections of a heart and soul chastened, maybe, for His own divine purposes, by the hand of God, and to overlook all the earlier results produced by a mind or will still following the dictates of its own nature. Remembering, therefore, Wordsworth's philosophic saying that the boy is father of the man, we must search for the more hidden sources of character, for the underlying motives that impel to action in the beginnings of life ; in the days of lesser perfections, of lesser response, perhaps, to divine Grace, or of open revolt, maybe, of self-will asserting—more especially in a strong or obstinate nature—at any rate for a time, its masterful independence.

We are apt to regard our great men or our good and holy men, our saints or sages only as we see them to-day, more or less perfected by the action of the will, by the experience

or purifying trials of life, by self-discipline and the grace of God. We are startled, nay offended, at hints of faults or foibles in the past; at suggestions that motives, more or less mixed, dictated their action or determined their course in life, in the beginning or mid-way of their career. In contemplating St. Paul, we forget Saul of Tarsus.

The life of Manning in his Anglican days is the life of Saul of Tarsus: of Noah before he went into the Ark. "In criticising the Archdeacon of Chichester," I once remarked to the Cardinal, "bear in mind, I am only pitching into Noah before he went into the Ark." I could not but perceive that the Cardinal still retained a sneaking kindness for Noah and his antecedents and surroundings before the Deluge. In the view that little or no fault could be fairly imputed to the Archdeacon of Chichester, the Cardinal expounded a theory that reduced his life and the principles which he held as Anglican and Catholic into a harmonious whole.

The Principle of Continuity (said the Cardinal) is the key to the right understanding of my life, of my intellectual developments. It is the nucleus round which everything else grows and gathers. The principles which I hold to-day as a Catholic, I held as an Anglican. My Catholic are but the logical developments of my Anglican principles. In becoming a Catholic I suffered no violent wrench, no break of continuity. It was a progression from the beginning: step by step, slow, but sure; a growth, not a change.

This theory, which the Cardinal reduced to writing five years ago or more, embraces the whole range of his work in life, religious and intellectual, social, political, and philanthropic; though full of interest and eminently characteristic, such a synopsis would be out of place in these pages, out of proportion in a review so brief of a subject so large. It was obviously constructed not only out of love for logical symmetry, but out of a tender regard—it might almost be considered a subtle form of self love—which the Cardinal felt, especially of late years, for the Archdeacon of Chichester and all his works and ways. Don't let me be misunderstood. It was not sympathy with Anglicanism as such, quite the reverse; but with the Catholic spirit, the Catholic principles, the Catholic doctrines identical with those he held as a Catholic, which, the Cardinal persuaded himself, were held



and taught from the beginning by the Archdeacon of Chichester.

As a witness on his own behalf, if I may so speak, Cardinal Manning has given invaluable aid towards the right understanding of his life: that is to say, from his own point of view. Such testimony is not only in itself singularly interesting, but is entitled to the highest consideration, for it is given not in elucidation of controversies in the past, or of points still under dispute, or of public conduct, but of the principles which had, as he contended, consistently guided and governed his actions as Anglican and Catholic alike, from the beginning to the end of his life. As the star by night and the pillar of smoke by day led the wise men of the East to the cradle at Bethlehem, so, according to the Cardinal's pious opinion, had the Principle of Continuity, the root principle of his life, the *idée mère*, as the French call it, of his character—led his slow but sure steps through the intricate ways and darknesses of life to the threshold of the Apostles. Such evidence as is given in support of this theory is, of course, not in itself conclusive; far from it. There is the evidence of his own acts, of his own writings; his Charges, for instance, as Archdeacon of Chichester; the testimony of his contemporaries—eye-witnesses of the conflicts of the day, or of the fluctuations in his religious opinions—to be considered, if not formally, incidentally in the view of determining, whether the carefully elaborated theory fitted into, or conflicted with, the actual facts and circumstances of his life and conduct.

The Cardinal was unfortunate in his official or officious biographers. I am not speaking so much of recent memoirs, for they were—with a few exceptions of gross inaccuracy and atrocious taste—just, sympathetic, or graceful tributes to the great English Cardinal, whose unique personality—grand and noble in spite of failings and shortcomings, from which not even saints are exempt—attracted in a singular degree the admiration and affection of men of all conditions and creeds. The meagre biographical sketches, which have appeared from time to time, are all stamped with a like defect. They are unreal and lifeless. They present not the picture of a living, breathing man of flesh and blood, but a wooden

ecclesiastical lay-figure tricked out, not only at the end, but in the beginning of his career, by a vulgar fancy with I know not what forms of superhuman excellencies and unnatural perfections. As well impute to St. Augustine, before he was rescued by the prayers of St. Monica, the virtues which later in life were supernaturally added to the Saint. As well ascribe to the heated wrestler, often thrown of his own fault or failing in the life and death struggle with self, the peace and calm tranquillity of soul, only acquired after the triumphant issue of the conflict.

How many stilted eulogies (miscalled biographies) of great men, not to speak of the lives of saints, have not been composed on this false and absurd principle. The dignity of tone and thought, austere self-restraint, wisdom of speech natural to a great man at the end of his career, is imputed to the youth on the threshold of life. The deep insight into human nature displayed in Wordsworth's philosophic saying is reversed for "the man" is made "father of the boy," no room is left to the impulses of youth, no play allowed for the incitements of ambition; self-seeking, worldly wisdom, vain-glory are left out of account. As well put an old head on young shoulders or give to the man, whose sword is yet unfleshed in the battle of life, the venerable aspect, the "gleaming dome" as Tennyson puts it, and the attenuated frame of the hero of a hundred fights. Such high-flown eulogists even discover the laurel crown on the brow of the boy in his cradle.

Invited to contribute to the pages of this Review, in which his matured thoughts on grave questions were so often expressed, some characteristic or leading episodes in the life of our great Cardinal, especially in his Anghean days, I cannot more fittingly correspond to the duty laid upon me than by making use of some of the materials which he himself supplied me with. Of infinite value is the Cardinal's Diary in the year 1847-8, revealing incidentally and yet so fully the state of his mind in regard to the Catholic Church in that crucial transition-period in his seventeen-year trial—his long, slow, and painful pilgrimage from Lavington to Rome—the goal and glory of his life. In like manner, of special interest are the Cardinal's private

letters, so kindly placed at my disposal for the purpose of making more widely known or more deeply appreciated, as nothing else could, the loving-kindness of his nature: the warm affections of his heart for those dear friends and relatives whom he left behind on the other side of the bridge. This home-love—how deep and abiding it was on either side their letters show—no change in religious opinion could break, no wrench in habits or mode of life could dissolve or even slacken: nor time nor events, nor life nor death could efface the life-long and after-life love which bound in one his heart and theirs, who were nearest and dearest to him. This tender and touching home-love runs like a golden thread through the web and woof of the Cardinal's life.

On these intimate and inner relations of his life I may say no more, yet, knowing all I do, I could in justice say no less.

In presenting the Cardinal as he was in his Anglican days, I shall run some risk of disappointing, perhaps even of offending, not out of want of reverence or of loving regard, some of those who only knew and venerated him as their beloved Cardinal Archbishop. For they knew him only in the happier days, when his heart and soul had been more completely enlightened by Divine Grace, when his will had been brought into fuller conformity with the Will of God: and his mind enlarged and enriched by the wisdom, which comes of the more perfected knowledge of God, of His Church, and of His dealings with the souls of men.

To watch with sympathy growth in holiness, in wisdom and fear of the Lord is an interesting and instructive lesson. But to impute the perfections and virtues only attained after long searchings of heart and purifying trials to a novice, a gaily young clergyman ministering in a Sussex village, a learned and pious Archdeacon struggling with a stubborn self-will as yet unsubdued, deflected, maybe, once and again, from the onward and upward path, is not only to commit an act of sentimental folly, but to ignore the gradual operations of Divine Grace. In the simplicity and sincerity of his nature the Cardinal would have been the first to resent and repudiate such ill-disguised and mistaken

flattery: the last to take affront at honest and outspoken criticism made in good faith.

To illustrate the gradual growth in wisdom and holiness, the inward struggle of a noble nature against the impulses of self-will, and the shaping of the ways by God's hand, I shall select certain passages or episodes that occur in the beginning, middle, and close of the Cardinal's career as an Anglican. It is not my fault if, in doing so, I have occasionally to traverse the fictions and follies, which in ignorance not only of facts and circumstances, but even of the bent and bias of his mind as an Anglican, have been palmed off as the true and real presentment of Cardinal Manning's early life and character.

In justice to the Cardinal, and out of reverence to his memory, I am constrained, I will not say to stigmatise, but to repudiate in the most emphatic terms sensational tales infinitely worse than the foolish fables just alluded to. Certain statements have been put about, purporting to have emanated from the Cardinal. They are either the results of a grossly inaccurate memory, of a strangely defective ear, or of an utter mental incapacity to catch the drift and meaning of the Cardinal's speech. They, who best knew and understood aright the Cardinal's mind and thought, are at one in regarding all such after-death statements in the same light as those of an eavesdropper. As to the vulgar and vicious taste of rushing into print over an open grave with sensational paragraphs I care not to express my opinion, far less the indignation felt by the Cardinal's relatives and real friends. "Save me from my (self-styled) friends" the Cardinal might well have exclaimed; but I fancy he would rather have said with Diogenes, "I see that even Diogenes nourisheth parasites." The Cardinal knew his fate beforehand, for he recently said in reference to Mr. Gladstone "It is the fate of great men to be attended by parasites."

Neither do I envy the silly ones, though their vice or vanity is of a different kind who pose to-day at public meetings, wearing, as they fancy or give out in private, if not in public, the dead Cardinal's mantle. It is as easy out of his literary remains — statements that is to say, picked up in the course of conversation, without their due limitations and qualifications;



hypotheses, perhaps, put forward under certain conditions—to construct a theory of their own on the Temporal Power of the Pope—not his, at all events, in its nakedness, as it is safe, now that the Cardinal is dead, to propound such a theory in public to the delectation of the enemies, home and foreign, of the Papacy.

#### PEDIGREE OF THE MANNING FAMILY.

There is another string of errors to be set straight which if, unlike the above mis-statements, harmless, yet are confusing in their strange inaccuracy regarding the Cardinal's nearest relatives by blood and marriage. Scarcely a fact or date is exact. If the errors include even the date of the Cardinal's own birth, who can wonder at all the strange myths, circulated concerning the marriage, life, and death of Caroline Sargent, wife of the Rector of Lavington. To clear up all these myths and mis-statements, I cannot do better, perhaps, than transcribe here, in an abridged form, from the Cardinal's pedigree in the "Life," the following dates and facts:—

William Manning, M.P., born 1st December, 1768, died April 17th, 1835; married for first wife Elizabeth, sister of Abel Smith and of Robert, created Lord Carrington, who died in 1789: had issue:

Two daughters, Elizabeth and Mary; Elizabeth died unmarried; Mary was married to General Cary, brother of Sir Peter Cary, of the Guernsey family.

William Manning married, secondly, in 1792, Mary, daughter of Henry Lenox Hunter, Esq., of Beech Hill, Reading, Berks. born July 4th, 1771, died May 12, 1847; buried at Sunbridge, Kent.

Four sons and three daughters were the issue of the second marriage: William, born July, 1798, died 1812.

Frederick, of Holly Walk, Leamington, born 1795, died 1880; married Elizabeth Edmunda (always called by the latter name), daughter of Edmund Turnor M.P., F.R.S., and niece of Sir Christopher Turnor, M.P., of Stoke, and Panton House, Rochford.

Anna Maria, born 1796, died 1880; and was married, 4th March, 1816, to John Laviscount Anderdon, Chiselhurst, Kent, who died 1874.

Charles John, born 1799, died 1880; married, 1828, Catherine, daughter of Sir Richard Downes Jackson, K.C.B., some time Commander and Governor of Canada, and colonel of the Coldstream Guards, who died 30th November, 1859; for second wife, 1861, Louisa Henniker, daughter of Sir Edward Henniker.

Caroline, born January 22nd, 1801, was married to Colonel Austen, M.P., of Keppington, Sevenoaks, who died 1859.

Harriet, born January 29th, 1805, died 1823.

Henry Edward, born July 15th, 1807, died 14th January, 1892;  
married November 7th, 1833, Caroline, daughter of Rev John  
Sargent, Rector of Lavington, born 1811, died July 24th, 1837.

## EPISODE I.

### THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS FROM LAVINGTON TO ROMK. 1832-6

But Thou, dear Lord,  
Whilst I traced out bright scenes which were to come,  
Leave a pure blessings and a ver lant home,  
Didst spare me an I withhold Thy fearful word,  
Wiling me year by year till I am found  
A pilgrim pale with Paul's sad girdle bound \*

In the spring of 1832, acting on the advice of his friends, the Wilberforces, Manning, who had taken his degree, first class in Classics in the Michaelmas term of 1830, came up again to Oxford to qualify for Orders. He was elected Fellow of Merton, but of course resigned his Fellowship on his marriage, and took Orders on the 23rd of December in the same year. His first sermon† was preached on Christmas Day, as the Cardinal told me five or six years ago, at the church at Cuddesdon, where Mr. George Anthony Denison, now Archdeacon, was curate.

The Venerable Archdeacon Denison, in a letter dated February 2nd, 1889, says:—

The Cardinal recalled to me not very long ago his first preaching for me, then curate of Cuddesdon, in dear Bishop Bagot's time, 1832-8. I have no memoranda enabling me to answer your first question put to me about my impressions in regard to the Cardinal in early days of my life—nothing certainly unfavourable. I became acquainted with him at first as an acquaintance only, afterwards we came nearer together in public action. He was an intimate friend of my dear brother Stephen at Oxford. My brother is long since dead. . . . .

In regard to his first sermon, the Cardinal writes in a letter‡ dated—

\* Newman—Verses on Various Occasions, lxviii., Our Future: "What I do thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter."

† His first sermon as a Catholic, twenty years after, was preached at a little church in Horseferry Road, then, if not now, in the slums of Westminster.

‡ Private Letters.

Archbishop's House,  
Westminster, S.W.,

My Dear

January 9th, 1882.

..... This is the 50th year since I began to preach. Last night I preached on the same words which were my first text on Christmas Day, 1832, Isaiah lx., 1, 2, 3. I hope we may enter into that light.

The tables show that the 8th of January, 1882, was a Sunday—the Sunday within the octave of the Epiphany, and the sermon was preached at the Italian Church, Hatton Garden.

Manning served for a few months as curate to Mr. Sargent, Rector of Lavington, and had the charge of an outlying hamlet Upwalham. On the death of the Rector in May, 1833, from consumption, accelerated by an attack of influenza, which was in that year as prevalent, if not as fatal, as it is to-day his mother, Mrs. Sargent, daughter and heiress of Richard Bettesworth, and widow of John Sargent, M.P. for Seaford, who died in 1831, presented, as Patron of the Benefice of Lavington the Living to Manning, as she had presented it 27 years before to her son. The late Rector and his family resided not at Lavington but at Graffham Rectory. At the time of Manning's becoming Rector of Lavington Mrs. Sargent lived at Graffham Rectory with her three young unmarried daughters, the eldest was married to S. Wilberforce, afterwards Bishop, in 1829. On the 7th of November, 1833, Manning married Caroline, the third daughter of Mrs. John Sargent, and granddaughter of Mrs. Sargent of Lavington House and Manor. The marriage ceremony was performed at Lavington Church by S. Wilberforce, then Rector of Brighthelm, Isle of Wight—Manning and Wilberforce thus becoming brothers-in-law.

When Manning left Oxford, as Mr. Thomas Mozley relates in his "Reminiscences of Oriel," he passed rapidly and completely from politics to a high ecclesiastical part. He was heard of as a great speaker at religious meetings." The young undergraduate of three years ago, the fluent debater at the Union, was now transformed into a grave ecclesiastic, but true to the bent of his nature, he made use of his great gifts as a speaker, not now to excite the enthusiastic applause of his fellow undergraduates, but to win the hearts of grown-up men and women to the cause of religion. His voice was as persuasive and captivating, if not at Exeter Hall, at religious

meetings in the country, of the type common in that day of Evangelical ascendancy, as it had been at the Union

It speaks well for his earnestness of character and great adaptability to circumstances that Manning at the age of twenty six should have so readily made himself at home in a little country village, and endeared himself so soon as their spiritual teacher and friend to the rustics of Lavington parish. The late Rector, the Rev. John Sargent, was an earnest Evangelical imbued with the spirit of Simeon, well known as one of the leaders and shining lights of the Evangelical Party. For 27 years he had lived and laboured in the united parishes of Lavington and Graftham. Parish and parsonage were imbued with his spirit. Fortunately for the peace of the parishioners and the Sargent family and household, Manning like so many others who took later on a distinguished or leading part in the Tractarian movement, belonged to the Evangelical School. He did not bring down with him to Lavington the infection, in its seed-time, of Puseyism, as it was called in those days. Indeed as an undergraduate his time and thoughts were in the main devoted to the debates at the Union. There was a group of earnest young men who had gathered round Newman, and were laying, or preparing to lay the foundations of the future movement, destined to have such far-reaching consequences. But Manning was not one of these. The "Tracts for the Times" had not yet been started. Newman indeed was writing a series of letters to the *Record*\* to the starting of which well-known Evangelical paper he had subscribed a few years before, a small sum. On coming up again to Oxford in the spring of 1832 to qualify for Orders Manning did not remain more than a few months in residence. He was indeed comfortably settled some three or four months at the rectory of Lavington, when the future leader of the Oxford Movement opened the "Tracts for the Times" on the 9th of September, 1833 with these memorable words, "I am but one of yourselves and a Presbyter"

Like Mr Gladstone Manning had left Oxford after taking his degree without knowing, without even a suspicion of the

\* Newman's letters, in reply to attacks and misrepresentations of his religious opinions, were so mutilated by the Editor of the *Record* that Newman refused to continue the series



religious ferment going on in the minds of Newman and Hurrell Froude, and of those under their immediate influence.

"When I left Oxford," Mr. Gladstone tells me to-day, "I should have said we were on smooth waters: there was no indication of the coming storm. From 'Thomas Mozley's Reminiscences' I first learnt that in Oriel there was a movement going on at the time. I cannot say whether I knew Hurrell Froude of Oriel, I think I did: I am not sure. But Manning knew nothing of Froude. I don't believe he was on terms of intimacy with Newman." Then he added: "How could he be; Newman was Fellow of Oriel, and held no office in the University, and Manning was an undergraduate belonging to another college."

Fortunately I can call the best of all evidence as to the way in which Manning discharged his ministerial duties as Rector of Lavington, and with what zeal he tended to the spiritual interests and temporal wants of his little rustic flock—the evidence of still living witnesses. One of these, whose unbroken friendship with Manning dates from 1833, describes Lavington as a model parish; the gentle influence of the Rector was everywhere felt: his administrative skill was apparent in every detail in the management of the parish as in the order and arrangement of the church. His kindliness of heart and sympathy drew by degrees almost the whole parish to the little church. This eye-witness, who in those far-off days was a frequent visitor at the rectory, speaks with high appreciation of the aid offered to the Rector of Lavington by his wife in tending to the wants of the villagers, in visiting and comforting the sick or the afflicted, and in looking after the village school. Daily morning prayers were the rule in the little church. In the preface to the Prayer Book it is directed that "the curate that ministereth in every parish church or chapel shall say morning and evening prayer, and shall cause a bell to be tolled thereunto a convenient time before he begin, that the people may come to hear God's word and to pray with him." "It was a picturesque sight," says this friend of Manning's, in his Lavington days, "to watch the zealous and stately Rector, vested in surplice, himself tolling the bell, whilst in the grey of a winter's morning the straggling villagers hurried to morning prayer before going out to their daily toil in the fields."

To inculcate the duty of daily prayer in the parish church was a task, which Manning set himself to with characteristic zeal. His simple and persuasive words, more than the tolling of the bell, drew by degrees the villagers to the little church for morning or evening prayer. It was one of the happiest results of his pastoral work. "The language of the English liturgy," as the Cardinal once remarked, "was no more and no less intelligible to my rustic congregation than would have been the Latin offices of the Catholic Church."

There is another living witness to Manning's work at Lavington Mr. Gladstone. In a conversation with him a few years ago on this subject, Mr. Gladstone said: "Manning's devotion to his pastoral work had the most successful results. The population of the parish was small, but Manning told me that almost every parishioner was a communicant. 'That,' added Mr. Gladstone, 'was as it ought to be'."

## EPISODE II.

### THE ELECT OF GOD.

1837.

There's a Divinity that shapes our ends,  
Rough hew them how we will.

*Hamlet*

They, who believe not only in the Divine government of the world, but in the particular guidance of the lives of men, know also that God elects as he listeth the instruments to execute his Divine purpose, not blindly, but with a foreknowledge of their special fitness for the work he has set them to do. It often comes to pass—how often who shall tell?—that men, elected of God, out of stubbornness of nature or in pride of heart, hearken not to the Divine call, turn aside from the way their feet were set to go; and sometimes, in perversity of nature, or out of self-will, seek unconsciously to construct insuperable barriers or obstacles to the designs which Providence has upon them. But God is patient and apt in the long run to win. Did not Saul of Tarsus kick against the goad, and after wrestling with the Lord in vain, go out, as an apostle of his Divine Master, to preach the gospel to the Gentile world?

"Circumstance, that unspiritual god," as Byron calls it, had more to do with shaping the course of Manning's life

than interior growth or gradual development of Catholic principles. There is nothing derogatory to his personal dignity in such a fact, and even if there were, we must bear in mind that God, instead of working an actual miracle either by direct revelation or a sudden change of heart, more commonly makes use of ordinary means to carry out his designs. 'Circumstance, that unspiritual god,' to which the knee of man is so often bent in worship, is after all but a creature of God's own making, a minister or slave to do His bidding.

Manning, in the beginning, even unto the end of his Anglican life was very susceptible to external influences, to the praise or blame of men, to public criticism or applause. Let me in brief outline record some of the facts and circumstances which, one after another, with accumulating force, ended in driving the Archdeacon of Chichester out of the church which he loved so well, and in which he believed with a faith as sincere as it was touching in its tenacity. He was an Anglican to the backbone; born and bred in the love and service of the Church of England, suckled at his mother's breast, as it were, with the milk of its teachings and traditions, and, as he grew in age and stature with his years increased his love for the church of his birth and baptism. As a clergyman the Rector of Lavington was the most perfect type of his Order, the rectory, in its natural beauty, in its peace and piety and gladness of heart, was a model parsonage. In personal piety, in holiness of life and in pastoral zeal, he was an exemplar to all men. He was consumed with zeal not only for the beauty of God's House, but for the spiritual and temporal welfare of his parishioners—dull rustics in a Sussex village. He loved the Church of England for, in many ways, in its higher aspects and aspirations, it was a counterpart of his own nature—he loved its dignity and repose, its order and moderation "primitive, yet purified," as he said and believed with all his heart "the mother of many churches of the English race all over the world." It was English, and that alone beyond and beside its higher claims was a proud title dear to the heart of the most English of Englishmen, who, in the natural order, loved above all things else next to

his own church and home at Lavington, England and England's Church.

To Archdeacon Manning, from beginning to end, in spite of the encroachments as he styled it, of the Civil Power on her spiritual rights and liberties, in spite of the "maimings and mutilations" she had suffered, the Church of England was the ideal church to be loved and glorified - to be delivered, indeed from bondage but on no account in the vain search elsewhere, after higher truths or purer teaching, to be abandoned of her sons.

Unlike the illustrious leader of the Tractarian movement, Archdeacon Manning had not to wrestle with himself, with contending convictions, with growing doubts and perplexing fears. On the contrary, he had no fears or misgivings, was troubled by no perplexity of conscience; had a sublime confidence in the Anglican Church and in himself in his position and authority as teacher appointed of God, as well as in the divine origin and blessed results of the Reformation, "that gracious act" as he called it, "of God's mercy towards the Church." With a supercilious wave of the hand he put the Church of Rome out of court. He treated her title deeds and her history her position in Christendom and her claims, with infinite disdain. He had erected for himself a tower of strength, of which he was at once the foundation, the main prop and pillar. He saw no rocks ahead, no shoals at his feet. *Securus judicat orbis terrarum.* Self satisfied, he surveyed from the watch-tower of his own imagining "the wasting away of the powers of Faith, the trampling down of the rule of the spiritual order of the Western churches, the sensual infidelity of France, that may be traced to the communion of the Gallican Church, the corruptions of Italy, the sterility of Spain, and then contemplates once more with a serene eye and a confident heart the Church of England which he glorifies as the 'New Jerusalem' as 'the Regenerator of the Christendom that seems now dissolving - the future Centre of the Catholic world.'"

Such, then, was the man, as the event shows, elected of God, as Saul of Tarsus was to preach the gospel to the heathen to convey the divine message at a critical hour to the men of



his own race and nation, to extend the boundaries and exalt the position of the Church in England. If it be temerarious to search into the counsels of Divine wisdom, infinitely more so is it to question or impugn God's judgment in the choice of His instruments. Yet to the natural eye, unlightened by the event, the election of such a man for such a purpose seemed, as men speak, a blunder. Were there not wise and holy men, not a few trained in the schools of the Church? Or men ready at hand who had crucified the flesh and purified the spirit in many a monastic cell—docile sons, not born and sworn enemies of the Church, fitter instruments, as men judge of God's designs to build up at the appointed period the Church in England than an alien to the Church, obstinate of nature, holding with the tenacity of a vice to his own opinions, dyed to the skin with the hue and colour of Anglican traditions and prejudices, bound, too, by ties in the natural order, in the beginning still unbroken to the life of his own choosing. Be it so, yet in Saul of Tarsus, God chose an alien, an enemy, a persecutor, and not one of the devout and humble followers of the Christ ready at hand. In like manner, in our day, He elected for his divine purposes in England, an alien to the Church, a scorner of her doctrines and devotions, passing His elect meanwhile through the crucible of purifying fires, in order to cleanse and melt his heart, to make his stubborn will plastic as clay in the potter's hands. And did not the abiding faith, the unflinching fortitude, the wisdom and charity manifested in the life and labours of the great and good Cardinal justify once more to man the ways of God?

Manning's mind was a fortress impregnable to assault. He listened to no argument. He never parleyed with the enemy at the gate. Even to the Divine Voice, persuading him to a course or conclusion opposed to the bent of his intellect or the bias of his will, not knowing It, he would have turned a deaf ear as to that of the enemy at the gate. On such a mind God so to speak had no hold. It afforded no grip to the Divine Hand. Appeals and arguments which had moved the hearts and minds of other men, found no hearing at the bar of his judgment, no admittance into the closed recesses of his heart. Hence to Saul kicking against the pricks, external circumstances came as ministers and messengers from God. The

Lord chastizeth them he loveth. He planted His cross in the heart of his servant. It was a blessing in disguise though he knew it not.

The happy home at Lavington, with its pleasant ways, its simple joys, its tranquillity and gladness of heart and deep domestic affection which for well-nigh four years had made it to him a paradise on earth, was turned into a house of mourning a home for ever after widowed of its earthly joys. It has rarely fallen to the lot of any of the sons of man to endure such a deep abiding and unspeakable anguish of heart as befel the Rector of Lavington on the death of his young, sympathetic, and pure-hearted wife. In that sorrowful summer and autumn of 1837, when even the flowers of Lavington, which he loved so well and loved to the last for they were constantly sent to him unto the end of his days as memorials of his early home lay faded at his feet, widowed of their ancient gladness, he was wont, after his first anguish of heart had subsided, to sit for hours, day by day, at the grave of his wife and compose his sermons.\* When at last, he rose up from that silent grave after what he himself described as "a sort of grapple with what was crushing me" it was with sealed heart - with sealed lips for henceforth he never more breathed her name to a living being. Not even to his nearest and dearest relatives in the intimacies of life did he ever once allude to his wife or utter her name in joy or in sorrow. He was very reticent, indeed, even during her lifetime. A few years ago, in a conversation with Mr Gladstone on Manning's Anglican days, I happened to mention that this interesting episode in his life was a sealed book, unknown to all except a very few, who had a more intimate acquaintance with the Cardinal's life, or with his few surviving contemporaries. In reply Mr. Gladstone said, "I am not in the least surprised. Manning never spoke to me about his family or friends, and, intimate as I was with him for a time, he never once alluded to his wife, excepting in a few lines announcing her death."

\* Private Letter. In answer to an inquiry, a contemporary of the Cardinal's wrote seven years ago: "I was a frequent visitor at Lavington in those days of sorrow, and often found Manning, seated by the graveside of his wife, composing his sermons."

In the frequent and intimate conversations I had with the Cardinal about his Anglican days he only alluded to the subject twice, and that in an indirect fashion. Once he said: "You may write just as you think fit about me in your 'Life.' I don't wish to see a page. But there is one Episode early in life which I wish to see in manuscript before it goes to the printers." Of course that passage, I knew, referred to his marriage.

On another occasion the Cardinal told me that he had received a letter from the Vestry people, announcing that the grave at Lavington was falling into decay, and asking for instructions about putting and keeping it in repair. "My reply was. It is best so, let it be. 'Time effaces all things'."

After long years, even unto the end of his life, Lavington still remained green in Manning's memory, still dear to his heart. But it was characteristically associated in his mind, not with the days of stress and storm, but with the early beginnings of his life when the little church of Lavington was his pride, his hope and the joy of his heart, when his home under the shelter of the Sussex Downs "an abode amid calm streams and green woody hills" of higher beauty still, I may add, an abode of peace and piety, dearer far to him than life as the home, for nigh upon four years, of the ministering angel of his heart and hearth, the co-partner of his joys and sorrows.

They, who have so often read the Cardinal's touching description of his home at Lavington, now that the veil over that hidden episode of his life from that glad day in November 1833 when he was married to Caroline Sargent, to the dark day in July 1837 when he followed her to the grave in Lavington Churchyard has with reverent hand, as befitting these pages, been lifted in part, will discover in those words now that their "true inwardness" has been revealed, an additional and deeper pathos. "I loved the little church under a green hillside where the morning and evening prayer and the music of the English Bible for seventeen years became a part of my soul. Nothing is more beautiful in the natural order and if there were no eternal world I could have made it my home."

The following lines, as I feel and think, have a true and touching application here:—

Alas! for Thou must learn,  
 Thou guileless One! rough is the holy hand;  
 Runs not the Word of Truth through every land,  
 A sword to sever and a fire to burn?  
 If blessed Paul had stayed  
 In cot or learned shade,  
 With the priest's white attire,  
 And the Saints' tuneful choir;  
 Men had not gnashed their teeth, nor risen to slay,  
 But Thou had'st been a heathen in thy day.

### EPISODE III

#### THE PILGRIM PASSES OUT OF THE SLOUGH OF EVANGELICALISM 1838.

The Rev. H. E. Manning has apostatized, has fallen from the Gospel. *Record.*

Favouring circumstances helped the young Rector of Lavington onwards and upwards, with many a break and backward steps not a few, towards the ultimate goal of his spiritual life—the Catholic Church, hidden almost up to the last from his unseeing eyes. A stumbling block was removed from his path by the translation of Edward Maltby, Bishop of Chichester, to the See of Durham. How great a stumbling block the first of the four Bishops of Chichester, under whom Manning served, must needs have been to him will be abundantly apparent, when I record the fact, forgotten by Mr Gladstone and of every one else, even of all those who have recently written about the late Cardinal, that he was that Bishop of Durham to whom Lord John Russell addressed in the year of the so-called "Papal Aggression," his notorious "No Popery" Letter, which for awhile set all England ablaze with the frenzy of religious fanaticism. The Prime Minister appeals to the great Evangelical Bishop of Durham as sharing with himself to the full, abhorrence of Papists and Puseyites alike.

By his Bishop's translation to Durham an obstacle was removed—may I not call it providentially removed?—and the way made easier for the Rector of Lavington, for the change

\* Newman Verses on Various Occasions, p. 119, lxxiii. Warfare "Freely ye have received; freely give."



of the Diocese rested, henceforth, on the easy, sloping shoulders of a Bishop of no religious opinions in particular. Bishop Otter, the new Bishop of Chichester, was described by his contemporaries as being "neither fish, flesh, nor fowl," partly as a pun on his name; partly on account of the vagueness of his religious views, for he was neither High Church, Low Church, nor Broad. Ruled no longer by a Bishop of pronounced Evangelical views, Manning had a free hand and made use of his opportunity to the fullest. The sermon, he preached at the Primary Visitation of the Bishop, was an open avowal of High Church Principles, a public condemnation of popular Protestantism. The great Evangelical party, as narrow in its views as it was broad in its denunciations, bitterly resented Manning's "fall." It attacked the sermon as "a departure from the principles of the Reformation," as "substituting the traditions of men for the Word of God," as "shifting our Faith from a divine to a human foundation."

"In those days," Mr. Gladstone said to me in the course of conversation on the Cardinal's early religious opinions,

Manning was in the habit of sending me his sermons. I cannot, however, recall the exact time at which he ceased to sympathize or act with the Evangelicals." After reflection he added: "I remember, however, an incident which would fix the approximate date of Manning's passing out of the Evangelical school. He had sent me a sermon which he had just delivered a sermon, I think, on Grace. I forget not only its title, but the date. It was an excellent and admirable sermon. Calling upon me soon afterwards, I told him so. In reply, Manning said, with a quiet smile, 'The *Record* has just proclaimed my apostacy, my fall from the Gospel.' The date of that sermon will show the time of Manning's break with the Evangelicals."

The Cardinal remembered the incident well, but had forgotten the title or subject of the sermon. Turning over the pages of the first volume of his sermons, he said: "Any of these would suffice to provoke the anathema of the *Record*."

The sermon was 'The Rule of Faith,' interesting on many accounts as the Cardinal's first essay in controversy. I must pass it by, however, as I have for want of space, passed by so

[*No. 2 of Fourth Series.*]

much else of the highest importance. One feature of special interest, which I cannot omit in these pages, in "The Rule of Faith" is, that it shows Manning for the first time in conflict and controversy with Dr. Wiseman, the *Dublin Review* and other Catholic writers in England

## EPISODE IV.

### MANNING'S FIRST WORD ON PAPAL INFALLIBILITY. 1838.

"saul, saul, why persecutest thou Me. It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks."

Between the delivery of "The Rule of Faith" and its publication with Appendix and notes, which convert an ordinary learned sermon into a controversial Treatise of special interest, an article had appeared in the *Dublin Review*,\* criticising and challenging the position, taken up by Keble and other Tractarian leaders on the subject of Private Judgment and Article VI of the 39 Articles. This Review, an able Catholic Quarterly published in London, was the organ of Dr. Wiseman, the foremost champion of the Catholic cause in those days of eager controversy. Full of sympathy with the Tractarian movement and characteristically hopeful of its results, he watched and criticised every step, every position taken up by the Tractarian writers. This Catholic criticism in the *Dublin Review* of Keble's sermon, attacking the position taken up by Anglicans, as representing the faith of the Primitive Church, incidentally assailed and upset Manning's theory of the identity between the Rule of Faith in the Reformed Church of England and in the Primitive Church. Thus challenged by Dr. Wiseman and the *Dublin Review* Manning buckled on his armour and entered for the first time into the arena of controversy.

After having established, to his own satisfaction, the identity between the Rule of Faith distinctly recognised by the English Church and that of the Primitive Church, the author goes on to confirm his proposition, by considering two fallacious rules, which have been, in later ages, adopted by the Church, both therefore *modern* and condemned as novel by universal tradition. I mean the rule of the Roman Church and the rule that is held by all Protestant bodies, except the British

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\* July, 1838.

and American Churches. The former may, for distinctness, be called the Roman, and the latter from its extreme novelty the New.\*

The author then deduces from a work in great repute among the Roman Catholics in this country† the following propositions

1. That there is a living judge of interpretations, guided by an inspiration the same in kind with that which dictated the Holy Scriptures.

2. That the rule by which the judge shall proceed is 'What was anciently received,' &c.

3. That some points of *belief*, which if it means anything more than the sixth Article of the Church of England, must mean *of necessary faith*, were not committed to writing in Holy Scripture, but rest on *oral tradition alone*.

Acting on this rule, the Church of Rome at the Council of Trent added to the Nicene or Constantinopolitan creed many doctrines which cannot be proved from Holy Scripture, *e.g.*, transubstantiation, purgatory, invocation of Saints, veneration of images, indulgences, &c. A profession of this faith she requires as necessary for communion."

The author then having defined the Roman Rule contrasts it with the Catholic [Anglican] in this way.

The Church of Rome asserts that *oral tradition* is a *sufficient* proof of points of necessary belief.

The Church of England, that *Scripture* is the only sufficient proof of necessary faith.

The Church of Rome says, that the doctrinal articles added to Pope Pius's Creed may be proved from Scripture but need not.

The Church of England that they ought to be proved from Scripture, but cannot.

The Church of Rome maintains that they are binding because they are Apostolical traditions.

The Church of England denies that they are Apostolical traditions inasmuch as they will not stand the Catholic test, not being *primitive*, nor have they ever been *universal*, or held with consent of all Churches.

\* 'Rule of Faith Appendix,' p. 81. London, 1838.

† Berington and Kirk, *Faith of [Roman] Catholics*, p. 190.

The Rector of Lavington then defines what he calls the "New Rule," the rule of faith of popular Protestantism, and contrasts it with the Anglican as follows:

The other fallacious Rule is as follows:

That Holy Scripture needs no interpreter, but is plain to all.

But this is felt to be so evidently untenable that it is generally stated in this form:

That the Holy Spirit, which dictated the Scripture, now guides all who seek the truth into a right understanding of it.

Now here is exactly the same fallacy as in the Roman Rule above given. The Church of England carefully distinguishes between the immediate guidance of inspiration, and that guidance which leads men through the means God has ordained for the conveyance of truth.

After contrasting the two fallacious Rules of Faith with the true [the Anglican] the author says:—But we must go on to a still more instructive topic, namely, the close agreement of these two principles, notwithstanding their seeming irreconcilable opposition.

In the following six points they closely agree:—

1. Both exalt the *living judge*, or interpreter above the written rule.
2. Both claim a *special* guidance.
3. Both argue *à priori*.
4. Both oppose antiquity and universal tradition, and, as a natural consequence of all these,
5. Both introduce new doctrines.
6. Both, in effect, undermine the foundation of faith.\*

The Rector of Lavington, having thus summoned the Evangelical Party and the Catholic Church before the bar of his own infallible judgment, passes sentence alike on the Evangelical Party, which he had just left, and on the Catholic Church, to whose tribunal, in after years, he submitted his mind and will.

Both the Roman and the new rule exalt the *living judge* or interpreter, above the *written rule*. That this is so, many decrees of councils and

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\* *Ibid.*, p. 84-85.



popes will sufficiently prove. We need not quote the profane sayings of bygone controversy, expressing in too homely a way the malleableness of Scripture in the hands of the *living Church*. The maxim "*Scripturæ sequuntur Ecclesiam*" is enough. They have been made to follow the *living Church* with too ductile a pliancy. For it is plain, that the meaning of a mute document, if it be tied to follow the utterance of a *living voice* which shall claim the supreme right of interpretation, must vary with its living expositor. And in this lies the real danger of the Roman doctrine of Infallibility.\*

Manning then quotes and makes his own long passages from Chillingworth, in which that apostate priest describes "the Pope as the real enemy of Christ, who, under the pretence of interpreting the law of Christ, doth, in many parts, evacuate and dissolve it: so dethroning Christ from his dominion over men's consciences, and instead of Christ, setting up himself." †

On this Manning remarks—

Although this investing of the Pope with infallibility is the *Italian doctrine*, the Gallican and British Romanists placing it in the Church assembled in council, I have quoted the whole passage for a two-fold reason. First, because it is equally applicable to the interpretation of the *living Church* in council; and, secondly, because, in the rashness of controversy, this passage, levelled against the *infallibility of the living judge*, whether Pope or Church, is turned against the very ground on which Chillingworth stood when he wrote it, *i.e., primitive and universal tradition*.

Manning then contends that Antiquity was sacrificed by modern Protestants in order to establish the right of Private judgment, and that the rejection of universal tradition has led to schism and Socinianism but that the Church of England, reviving at the Reformation the rule of Faith of the Primitive Church, resists both Calvinism and Romanism by appeal to universal tradition.

In this controversial Appendix to a learned sermon, it is curious and interesting to note, that the future Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, one of the most active Fathers of a Council convoked to define the dogma of Papal Infallibility, speaks as Rector of Lavington his first word on "the Roman doctrine of the Infallibility of the Pope." Between the Preacher

\* Appendix, p. 85.

† Chillingworth, vol. I., pp. 11, 12, 13. Appendix 87.

on the Anglican Rule of Faith in Chichester Cathedral in 1838, and the Father of the Vatican Council in 1870, what a gulf! What a difference between his first word on Papal Infallibility and his last!

### EPISODE V.

MANNING'S FIFTH OF NOVEMBER SERMON AT ST. MARY'S, OXFORD.  
1843.

*But Jonah rose up to flee unto Tarshish,  
From the presence of the Lord*

In the mind of the Anglican Rector of 1838 not a trace, as I have abundantly shown, is to be found of the principles in regard to the Papacy, held as a Catholic by the Cardinal Archbishop. The theory of "Continuity in Principle"—constructed, apparently, as an after-thought by the Cardinal, at the end of his life, to justify unto himself, if not to others, his ways as an Anglican in its beginning—breaks down under the weight of facts. There is not growth, but decline, not progress in a Catholic direction, but retrogression between the principles, enunciated on the 16th of July, 1838, in the Cathedral of Chichester, and the "no Popery" principles, proclaimed in a "fifth of November" sermon in commemoration of the Guy Fawkes Plot, delivered in 1843 at St. Mary's, Oxford.

Two or three passages from "A Sermon preached on November 5, 1843, in commemoration of Guy Fawkes Plot" is all that I need recite here—passages that seem indeed more suited to the heated atmosphere of Exeter Hall than to that of St. Mary's, Oxford:—

The two Events which are united in the acts of this day (fifth of November), different as they are in their circumstantialia, have this at least in common. They exhibit the mercy of God in preserving the English Church and people from the secular domination of the Roman Pontiff.

The conspiring against the king and the three estates of England was conceived, planned, and brought to the eve of perpetration by members of the Roman communion; it was designed to advance the interests of the Roman Church. It was not indistinctly known, that some such attempt was in preparation. The intent was encouraged by the subtleties of casuistry, being directly defensible on principles prevalent and commended among the writers of that Church.

The Cardinal once said to me, "In all my writings I had, when I became a Catholic, but four pages to retract, and they

were not pages of passionate rhetoric, but of argument and calm reason.

But is not the insinuation that "the Gunpowder Plot" was encouraged by the subtleties of Roman casuistry, rather a rhetorical appeal to the popular Protestant prejudices, prevalent in that day than a conclusion founded on argument and calm reason?

In the other Event the 'Most High' 'that ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will' confounded our adversaries in the very point wherein they had usurped upon His sole prerogative. They who had claimed 'the power to bestow the Empire on whom they listed,' who also said of themselves: 'We (the Popes) are to this end placed over the nations and kingdoms that we may destroy and pull up and plant'—saw, in one hour, the secret labours and confident expectations of many years scattered 'as a dream when one awaketh.'"

In a note the Archdeacon says:

No one can deny that the Revolution of 1688 was an event in Providence, nor that by that event, the re-entrance of the Roman influence was prevented, and no member of the English Church can but look upon this as a mercy.

Then the Archdeacon goes on with his Fifth of November sermon as follows:—

A special Providence appears to have shielded this Church and realm from falling again under the secular dominion of Rome. Every time it has re-entered, it has been cast out again with a more signal expulsion; every time it has seemed to gather strength it has been more utterly confounded. The reign of Princes alien from the English Church has been twice brought to end with a speed truly significant: foreign armaments ignominiously baffled, conspiracies at home laid bare: the insinuations of secret emissaries detected and exposed, the whole line of the House of Stuart repelled by steady and uniform defeats. If a series of Providential acts may be read in combination, and thereby taken to express the purpose of the Divine Ruler of the world, it would seem to be the will of God, that the dominion of the Roman Pontificate may never again be set up in this Church and Realm.

After stating that "there are many duties to which this day of Commemoration (Fifth of November) recalls us," the Preacher proceeds to justify the Reformers, showing how "for

just causes and by a rightful authority the Roman jurisdiction was finally removed," and then he goes on:—

The principle on which the Reformers rested their act, and on which our relation to the Roman Church is still amply to be defended, is this—that there is no one Supreme prince or power in things temporal from whom the pastors of this Church derive apostolical succession: that both the Spiritualities and the Temporalities of this Church and Realm severally possess full authority and jurisdiction derived to them by succession and devolution; and that both under Christ alone are, with their respective spheres, perfect and complete. There does not exist any fountain of jurisdiction, below Christ, the head of all, on whose will and authority the acts of either for right or validity depend.

The Preacher, it will be observed, does not stoop to argue, but contents himself with laying down in a tone of infallible authority a dogmatic assurance. His *ipse dixit* was to be accepted as all sufficing. This dogmatic certainty combined with his earnestness and good faith was the secret of Manning's influence in that day, when the hearts of men were shaken by the forebodings consequent on Newman's retirement to Littlemore.

Then as befits the Preacher of a Fifth of November Sermon the Archdeacon launches forth against the Catholic Church and the Popes:

From two of the mightiest kingdoms of Western Europe this generation has seen the Church all but blotted out. At its very centre, it rests upon the deceitful calmness of a flood which at any hour may lift up its lowest depths and scatter it to the winds. They (the Popes) who once claimed to plant and to pluck up the thrones of Kings, now hold their own unsteady seat by the tutelage of Princes.

Lastly, Archdeacon Manning relapses into the prophetic mood, so common with him in those days in which Cassandra-like he foretells evil days and terrible issues for the Church of Rome.

It was on account of this sermon, delivered on the morrow of Newman's retirement to Littlemore and in the pulpit but now abandoned of him, that many men in Oxford and out of it never forgave Manning; some remembered it against him as an act of treachery even to the end.

Speaking of the indignation which was felt by the Trac-



tarian Party at the time, Mr. Gladstone said to me:—"Though neither the event nor name was mentioned of Newman's retirement to Littlemore, yet I know not, only that several of Manning's personal friends refused to speak to him after that sermon, and that Mr. Church, now Dean of St. Paul's, wrote a letter reproaching him for having pandered to Protestant bigotry at Oxford, but that, on Mannings paying a visit shortly afterwards to Littlemore, Newman refused to see him."

The truth is that Manning in those days still sat, with eyes unseeing in the darkness, at the feet of a teacher who, under a false title and by misleading claims, held him captive, who beguiled in that day—and alas still binds and beguiles for our sins perhaps, or for the sins of our forefathers, many a profound intellect, many a noble nature, too many a true and god-fearing heart. The day had not yet dawned; the day appointed of God—the star had not risen as yet which, like the Star that guided the wise men in the East, was to lead his 'slow but sure steps' into the Church of God—was to lead the assailant of the Papacy at Chichester and Oxford into the Vatican Council as the foremost champion of Papal Infallibility—as a loving and obedient son of the Successors of St. Peter.

## EPISODE VI.

### THE HALF-WAY HOUSE AT LAVINGTON, 1845-7

Drizza la testa  
 Son e più tempo d'andar sì sospeso  
 Vell'colla un'angel, che s'appresta  
 Per venir verso noi

*Il Puntatore—DANTE.*

The part, which the Archdeacon of Chichester played in the crucial years of the Tractarian Movement from the condemnation of Tract 90 to Newman's conversion in 1845,

with the exception of the episode in 1843 I have been compelled for want of space to pass over in these pages—for it must be remembered that I only profess to give here, short episodes in a long and varied career. In those tempestuous years the Archdeacon of Chichester was like a ship labouring in heavy seas buffeted by contrary winds, driven by violent currents on to rocks and shoals—in apparent danger of making shipwreck of God's designs. Yet no that ship drifting about in the storm-winds was a Vessel of Election, and was piloted by God's hand into a safe haven.

If God's mills grind slowly, they grind surely. His winnowing hand separates the chaff from the wheat in the souls of men, as the history of the change in Manning's religious opinions once more shows. Adverse circumstances, as I have already shown, had driven him back upon his ancient Protestantism, which he made use of, during temporary lapses, if I may so speak, from grace, as a house of refuge from the storm of popular fanaticism, which from all quarters, high and low, raged around the Tractarian Party. But yet Saul found it hard to kick against the goad.

Beyond that of witness at a distance, Archdeacon Manning had no lot or part in the greatest moral revolution, greater by far and more far-reaching and abiding than the struggle of Land and the Non Jurors, which has ever befallen the Anglican Church, and the religious life of England. It was only after Newman's conversion, that Archdeacon Manning laid aside his neutral attitude and stepped down from his serene and lofty watch-tower into the open arena. He rallied the broken hosts, discomfited and dismited by the retirement of their illustrious leader from the battlefield into silent Littlemore. No one was better adapted for such a saving office than the Archdeacon of Chichester. He took under his protecting wing the unsheltered and orphaned children of the Oxford Movement. He inspired the timid with courage, brought back hope to the despairing, and lifted up the hearts of the downcast and dismayed. He inspired the souls of them that came to him in doubt, with their faces already turned towards Rome with all the confidence in the Church of England, which filled his own heart, yet when the shock of Newman's departure from out of the Anglican Church, though long expected, fell like a sudden surprise, men's minds reeled and their hearts sunk within them; they knew not what to do, whom to look to, whither to go. And as week after week, month after month, the long procession of them that went out with Newman in the year 45 that *annus mirabilis* passed on before their saddened eyes they who had not the faith, the hope, the heart to follow — the scattered remnant of the Tractarian vanguard, turned instinctively to Manning. His voice was heard like that of one "crying in the wilderness." He spoke, as one inspired, of the divine certitude of his faith in the Anglican Church. To the

afflicted of heart—the troubled in conscience, to those tortured by doubt, he presented the Anglican Church, "primitive yet purified," possessed "of purities in doctrine and practice wanting in the Christian Churches whither in their impatience men had gone seeking what was not to be found." One thing alone was wanting to the absolute perfectibility of the Church of England, and that was, her liberation from the bondage imposed upon her by the usurpations of the Civil Power. He directed their energies to this end not only as good in itself, but as serving to divert their minds from doubts or controversial difficulties. His austere zeal, his earnestness, his personal piety and his dogmatic assurances attracted the hearts of men in that day of unrest. His confidence was contagious. He became a tower of strength to the weak or the wavering. The timid, almost frightened out of their wits by Newman's secession, were reassured, for men instinctively felt that under Manning's guidance, they were walking in the ways of safety and in the path of peace. 'Safe as Manning' passed almost into a proverb in that time of panic. Thus it was that the Archdeacon of Chichester stepped into the leadership of the remnant of the advanced Tractarian Party vacated by the conversion of the illustrious leader of the Oxford Movement.

Lavington became, in the years that followed, a half-way house for pilgrims innumerable on their way to Rome. But the undoubting faith of Archdeacon Manning in the Anglican Church—the magic of his personal influence over the hearts and minds of men, his resolute will held too many a soul captive. For many—how many who shall tell?—of the pilgrims to Rome, Lavington was turned into a prison house. The captives were only set free when their great leader himself at last capitulated to divine Grace.

## EPISODE VII.

### A SPIRITUAL RETREAT.

1847-8.

*Come degnaste d'accetar al Monte  
Non sapui tu, che qui è l'uom felice*

*Il Purgatorio. DANTI.*

It is I, be not afraid.

In Archdeacon Manning's Diary, dated July 8th, 1847 & is carefully recorded—often with great minuteness—the impressions conveyed to his mind by Catholic worship as presented

to his view, practically for the first time, in the Churches, Cathedrals, and Convents of Belgium and Germany; France and Italy. Secondly.—Events of public interest of which he was an eye-witness, notably at Rome, in 1848, when he watched with no idle curiosity the first beginning of the Italian Revolution, which led to the flight of Pope IX. to Gaeta: and finally, the men of name and note, the makers of history, with whom, especially in the City of the Popes, he was brought into close contact—the leaders of the Revolution, or its abettors, or its apologists on the one hand: and on the other, the defenders of the Catholic cause and of the Holy See, foremost among these, Pio Nono himself.

What imparts its special interest to Archdeacon Manning's diary is its spontaneous character. It was evidently not written with a view to publication. Indeed Cardinal Manning has more than once expressed to me his disdain for the idle folk who run up and down Europe, note-book in hand, jotting down remarks and reflections as material for book making.

His own Diary is simply a daily record of events. It contains notes on men and things; friendly interviews with Catholic priests and monks in Belgium and Germany, France and Italy. Reflections on the method and character of Catholic worship; comparison between its objective presentation of Divine Truth and the Anglican system. Naturally, on his arrival in Rome, Archdeacon Manning's Diary expands and embraces in its purview a greater variety of subjects, not without interest to the politician as well as to the theologian or the student of ecclesiastical history. It records conversations and discussions on the moral, religious, and political state of Rome: on the laxity of ecclesiastical discipline: on the frequentation of the sacraments; on the Temporal Power of the Popes: on the relations of Pius IX. with Austria on the one hand, and the Revolutionary movement in Italy on the other.

The year in which Archdeacon Manning visited Italy and Rome, and of which his diary is a record, was, it must be remembered, a year of public turmoil and trouble throughout Europe when other thrones beside the Pope's were attacked and shaken—the Revolutionary year, 1848—the birthtime, for good or evil, of great political, social, and religious changes in what



was once known as Christendom, but which can now only be described as a congeries of states morally independent of each other, and released from the ancient authority and bond of Christian Unity.\*

It is curious to note with what avidity the leaders and spokesmen of the Revolutionary party in Rome confided their hopes, and views, and wishes to Archdeacon Manning, known to them only as an Englishman of distinction, a prominent member of the Anglican Church. They, who were familiar with the Rome of the Popes in those days, know with what untiring energy the leaders of the Revolution laboured to influence the public opinion of Europe. No visitor of distinction escaped their polite attentions. They pounced upon him and poured into his ear the real or imaginary grievances which the Romans had to endure under the Temporal Power. Archdeacon Manning listened to the violent harangues of Gavazzi, to the revolutionary theories of Padre Ventura, and to the propositions and plans of Ciceruachio, but it is characteristic of his intellectual acuteness to find, as his Diary often records, that he was able to separate the grain of wheat from the bushel of chaff. We often, for instance, find in these pages the Anglican Archdeacon in his discussions with the politicians of Rome—Priests or Monks, as well as laymen—defending the Sovereign rights of the Pope and the authority of the Church against the partizans of the revolution led away, as so many were in 1848 by the promises of the Italian Unity.† Sometimes, indeed, Archdeacon Manning seems to have been captivated or captured by the specious arguments advanced by the more moderate or more astute opponents of the Temporal Power, or at any rate, to have given an apparent acquiescence to the revolutionary theories propounded by men like Padre Ventura. It must be remembered that at the date of Archdeacon Manning's visit to Rome in the spring of 1848 the Revolutionary character of the Italian Movement was not fully recognised

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\* Vide Cardinal Manning's "England and Christendom," p. in appendix.

† Miss R. H. Busk, the author of that famous book, "The Folk-lore of Rome," and many other popular works on Italy, speaking of the Revolution in Rome writes to me as follows:—"What farned people, who did not care a fig for Italian Unity, to submit to the revolution was, as I know well from talking to them, the promises which the revolutionists made that they were going to bring in an *El Dorado*."

Many good Catholic priests as well as laymen, indulged in the dream of a United Italy under the headship of the Pope. In the beginning of his reign, Pio Nono himself, carried away by his generous instincts and love for Italy, held out hopes that he would as Sovereign Pontiff bestow his blessing on the Italian Movement; send his army into the field against Austria, and promised, if Padre Ventura is to be believed, on the morrow of victory to crown at Milan Carlo Alberto, King of Piedmont, with the Iron Crown. All these hopes and vain dreams were dissipated and destroyed by the famous Allocution of the 29th April, 1848,\* by which Pius IX, forced by their maliciously extravagant claims and demands, broke with the Revolutionary party—the character of which was only too manifest, not only by the principles which they enunciated, but by their rebellious acts and misdeeds. The assassination of Rossi, the Pope's Prime Minister, on the steps of the Chancelaria forced Pius IX into a life-long antagonism with the revolution.

Archdeacon Manning, arriving in Rome not more than a week after this break with revolutionary Liberalism, found men's minds in a state of ferment. Many priests with whom he came in contact were loud in condemning the action of the Pope. In the diary will be found a passage† in which the well-known Padre Ventura heaps words of insult and contumely on the head of Pope Pius, whom but a week or two before he had extolled as "An angel from Heaven" as "Divine love incarnate."‡

Cardinal Manning now tells me that many of the priests and monks, described in his diary as loud and clamorous in the revolutionary cause, are to-day good and holy priests, several of them high in office and dignity. "From one, perhaps the most violent and extreme, I have to-day," added the Cardinal, "received a letter: he is now a prelate in Rome, and something more."

One of the chief features in the Diary are the copious notes on sermons delivered in various churches at Rome. The Archdeacon appears to have been a regular attendant, his criticisms on the sermons are interesting, and still more so the synopsis

\* Vide the Allocution in Appendix of the 'Life.'

† Diary, Rome. p. 67.

‡ Vide Appendix

which he draws out of the argument used by the preacher. These "skeleton sermons" may have offered years afterwards to the newly ordained Priest of Westminster topics and suggestions for some of those striking discourses\* which he delivered at the Jesuit's Church in Farn Street, or at St Mary of the Angels, Bayswater.

At some of the Monasteries, which he was in the habit of visiting, Archdeacon Manning appears to have been catechized more than once by the good monks as to his own ecclesiastical position and as to how his religious creed differed from ordinary Protestantism. It is not difficult to conceive the surprise if not indignation, felt by Archdeacon Manning—one of the great leaders and lights of the Anglican Church—at being challenged by simple Italian monks to show his right to the name of Catholic and still more at being cross-questioned as to the character of his Orders. From one passage, at least in the Diary the Anglican Archdeacon appears to have thought that the zeal of his catechists was not always tempered by discretion. On one occasion at Assissi he accounts for the controversy running somewhat high by the absence of the more moderate-minded or discreet Prior. The Anglican Branch Church theory seems to have surpassed the understanding of these simple and straight forward Italian monks. On taking leave of his monastic friends on his departure for England the venerable Prior,† with tears in his eyes, kissing Archdeacon Manning on both cheeks implored him on his return home to consult some competent English Catholic on the vital difference between Protestantism under every variety of form and the Catholic Church.

One curious peculiarity of the Diary is the careful daily record kept at Rome of the wind and weather. In this, if in nothing else under heaven Archdeacon Manning resembled Pugin the great reviver of Gothic Art, who would almost as soon have omitted his morning prayers as his daily weather chart. The Diary I may add, is illustrated by frequent pen-and-ink sketches of shrines and altars of ruined towers and of churches of special interest, often accompanied by elaborate ground plans exhibiting no mean architectural knowledge and

\* Date, and date of publication of early Catholic sermons. *Ibid*

† Padre Luigi, Prior of "Gli Angeli" at Assissi, date—May 14, 1848.

skill. From the copious materials afforded by this Diary I proceed now\* to give at large such extracts as illustrate the important events of which Archdeacon Manning was an eye-witness in Rome in the critical year of 1848: or as record his opinions, religious or political: or his often acute comments on the events he witnessed: or on the leading men, ecclesiastical or lay, with whom he was brought into close, often intimate contact during his long stay at Rome. It will be conducive also to the fuller understanding of the state of his mind and feelings at this critical period of his life, if I recite such passages, even if unimportant or of no present interest, as are characteristic of the writer, or show the tendency of his mind at a time when he had, as the Germans so well express it, no *Ahnung* as yet, that he stood at the threshold of that far-famed and mighty Church, of which, in after years, he was predestined to become not only a faithful son, but a most eminent defender, bearing witness among his own people to its Divine character and to the Infallible Authority of its Supreme Head.

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHDEACON MANNING'S DIARY IN BELGIUM,  
JULY 9-20, 1847.

Diary Page 1: July 8. From London by railroad at half-past one. Dover, six o'clock.

July 9. From Dover at seven a.m. Ostend, half-past eleven: by rail at three to Bruges, from Bruges at five to Gand.

July 10. At Gand. The Beguinage, a long square of houses with walled gardens, and in the centre the Church: all of red brick with a Dutch look. At two by railway to Malines.

An annual fair exactly opposite to the windows of the hotel, and the noise all day till eleven at night ceaseless.

At the Cathedral Saturday evening, the *Salut* and Exposition. The Procession gave me a strong feeling of the reality of the Incarnation and of their way of witnessing to it. This morning, High Mass with much splendour. The Elevation very solemn and impressive, vivid by exhibiting the One Great Sacrifice. The Church very full all the morning - many

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\* That is to say, in the " safe."



thousands. At Vespers about six or seven. Priests and a choir of 20 or 30. Full end to end.

The Church S. Aloysius attached to the Beguinage. Great number of religious in white and in black hoods. The responses were made from the North East corner behind a screen. I conceive by a sisterhood. Mr. Daviney said by the choir. I doubt it, as the voices were certainly women's. He said the processions were of women, a Priest carrying the Host.

12. Saw the College Communal a school for boys from eight to fifteen, with choice of profession, about 125, then the *Petit Séminaire*, where were about 330: three courses - Humanity, Philosophy, Theology. Here the choice is made: They study in humanity, — years, in philosophy, — years, in theology —, and then go to the *Grand Séminaire*.\* This was much like S. Sulpice (at Paris), but the rooms better furnished with more of personal comfort. S. Sulpice has a severer character. Bare walls a bed, a table, chair, bookcase and crucifix. Good library and a most brotherly and intelligent priest who showed it to us. Then the *Frères de la Misericorde*, instituted by M. Scheppers. He was ordained 16 years ago, at the age of 30. In 1839 he began to attend the prisons with three subjects, they are now 60. The old prison system by Gardism old soldiers and by force, now it is wholly by religion and blessed with great success. He showed us the house refectory kitchen, chapel, sacristy, cloisters, and school. He was an open, clear, sincere, kindly energetic man, γαῤῥός but did not impress me with a feeling of height or depth. But there was about him the balance and peace of a man who had found his place and calling in God's kingdom for life, and was moving onward without distraction. This appears to me to be one of the fruits of the objective church-system of dogmatic theology, the celibacy of the priesthood and the monastic life.

The brothers all laymen. They take the three vows. Their novitiate is in all about three or four years. In the Refectory is a tall panel having an *Ordo* showing what Brothers are out and where. Also another for the novices. He showed us the robes under the Altar, and also others in the sacristy. I

\* The Archdeacon left the number of years blank, for future enquiry  
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could not but feel the effect of such objects is to awaken and keep alive a high standard of personal devotion. A theory at least which we have not. Also the whole objective worship gives a reality we have nothing to equal.

12. The Priest at the *Grand Séminaire* told me that in the Diocese of Malines there are 1500 priests, and that the Archbishop meets them all in retreat once in three or four years at various places—the *Séminaire* in Malines and other places in the Diocese.

The population of Belgium is about 4,000,000, and of Brussels about 200,000.

13. M. Bougheaux showed us the Chapel and Convent of the Visitation Nuns; the Supérieure had been 37 years in the Order at Annecy in Savoy, Nice, Paris, and Bruxelles. They have only seven Sisters here and lay Sisters. Then to the Dames de Marie who have 15 Sisters, and conduct the education of 600 girls (100 paying) in schooling, lace-making, etc.

In the Chapel were four or five sisters. They have about 600 in all, a house in London with Sisters, a house at Falmouth, Oregon America. The Redemptorists have only six Fathers, and are at work sometimes from half-past five a.m. to twelve in the Confessional. There are 22 Religious Houses in Bruxelles, and more nuns than before the French Revolution. I could not but be struck by the calm happy look of everyone I saw. They seemed at rest, as if they had said, "This shall be my rest for ever."

There are in Belgium six dioceses, Malines (Archbishopric), including Brussels and Antwerp, Gand, Bruges, Liège, Namur, and Tournay.

14. To Louvain with M. Bougheaux. Population 30,000, seven parishes including religious houses and their chaplains. Liège 75,000, diocese, 600,000. Parishes small, 300 or 400, some two four, and eight thousand but few. This from the Grand Vicar.

M. Bougheaux said the Catholics did not make, but only profited by the Revolution of 1830. There were only two bishops from the Battle of Waterloo Malines and Ghent. King William for five years forbade the great seminary to receive any more students. He wished to make Pope Adrian's

College a philosophical system—Liberal. The students there, although Rev. were never ordained as being unfit.

King William's professors are Liberals Infidels: the University supported by the town and the yearly church collections and all the clergy. The bishops send their best men for two, three and four years from their seminaries.

Heard a disputation for degree of Doctor and on appeals from the Pope, in Latin. The University has very little property: the State will not create corporations, nor suffer mortmain. In ten years M. Bongueaux hopes they may be able. The library a fine one, belongs to the town: students 600, several colleges—one theological, others for law and medicine. Bellarmine preached in Latin at S. Peters.\*

16. Went to Antwerp. At the Cathedral, the Chapel of the Holy Heart.

In the diary a blank space is left here, evidently in the view of recording later on the impressions made on the writer by Antwerp, perhaps the most Catholic city in Belgium, certainly the most interesting and the most artistic. Archdeacon Manning at that period evidently was not familiar with Catholic terminology as used in England. For instance, he translates the French *Sacré Cœur* by Holy Heart, and uses the French word *Salut*, instead of speaking as English Catholics do of the Sacred Heart and of the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. After coming into personal contact with English Catholic Ecclesiastics at Rome, he adopts in his Diary, as will be observed later on, Catholic phraseology.

But to resume the extracts from the diary:—

17. In the afternoon to Liège, a town lying in a valley with hills to the N.W. and S. Many open places.

On the margin is a pen and ink sketch of the town. The diary is illustrated by frequent sketches of monuments of interest, ruins of churches and chapels, and colleges, especially during his prolonged stay at Rome.

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\* This entry, which has no connection with the subject recorded in the diary, appears to be the result of a mental note, the record of one of the *souvenirs* heard in the course of conversation with his Belgian friends. It illustrates one of Cardinal Manning's most characteristic habits of mind, the power of gathering up and assimilating knowledge—the secret of a well-stored mind.

Palace of the Prince Bishop is fine. Inside, a cloister or perystyle like the Doges Palace at Venice, and the streets of Bologna. St. Martin's on a high and fine site.

The Feast of Corpus Christi first kept in that Church by the Canons. Liège alone has with Rome the privilege of perpetual Exposition four days in each church. The Parish Priests gave tickets to the devout, assigning the number and succession of hours for the perpetual adoration, the night-hours are kept in their houses, the day-hours in their church (the forty hours).

Went to St. Catherine where a Jesuit preached to the *Société de la bonne Mort* Church full. In the evening to the Grande Séminaire to see Dr. Kein.

The Séminary an old Convent of the Augustinians. Their books still there. A good Church in the Palladian style the low large lamps of brass burning before the high Altar, very solemn. He said he bought them in 1835 for sixty francs. I cannot but feel that the practice of elevation, exposition, adoration of the Blessed Eucharist has a powerful effect in sustaining and realizing the doctrine of the Incarnation.

19. To Aix-la-Chapelle through a beautiful country—a mixture of North Wales, the South Downs, Stroud, and Dovedale.

Aix a German Basle. First Vespers of St. Margaret. A long funeral procession, the streets were dressed with streamers from the windows. In one Church orange trees within the sanctuary. In another a large congregation to the Salut. I observed

1. The great number of men, and some *young*,
2. The deep devotion. They responded as one voice: were vividly penetrated by an idea and a spirit.
3. The use of the rosary by many men well-dressed, and by some poor men with great devotion. One man with a lame left arm like Simpson in face
4. The lifting of the hands the little (3) Acolytes before the altar.
5. The parents crossing their children with holy water. The children crossing themselves.
6. The devout kneeling down on the marble pavement, coming in and out.



The whole very impressive, implying a deep hold on the conscience and the will.

It seems strange that here on the moral site of the W. Empire and the Mediæval Europe there should be still an energy beyond anything I have seen elsewhere. Is there not a moral reason to explain this ?

20. At Aix. The Cathedral—a Temple Church built by Charlemagne, destroyed and rebuilt by Otto on the same site in 980 A.D. It consists of one octagon nave : a choir of the date of Westminster Abbey. There is a very old square tower at the west end ; north-west, a chapel of the decorated time : south-west, a chapel of the debased Italian.

Here follows a ground plan of the Aachen Cathedral in pen and ink.

In the middle of the nave a plain slab with *Carolo Magno*. His stone chair on six marble steps is up in the Triforium. I could not help feeling as if I stood over the spring of a great power which had still hold upon us. It is the fountain of Modern Europe—of the Mediæval Church and Empire ; of the temporal element of our national, legal, and Christian civilization.

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The passages which I have given are of interest and importance, as from a Diary recording Archdeacon Manning's first visit to Catholic Belgium : his first contact with Catholic life and Catholic worship, not so much if at all, on account of the facts of more or less interest put on record, as because the daily chronicle reveals, simply and naturally and with no foregone conclusion, the state of mind of the Anglican Divine, the leader at that date—in succession to the illustrious John Henry Newman, then studying for the priesthood at Rome—of the Tractarian Movements, when brought for the first time face to face with the living Catholic Church, as seen in its actual working, spiritual, religious, and social. For such a purpose Catholic Belgium was a good field for observation. Archdeacon Manning showed himself—as his twelve days' research among Catholic Institutions, social and religious, proves,—a clear-sighted and candid observer of men and things. He was more ; for the reflections, sparse as they naturally are in such a

homely chronicle, show that his mind was going to the roots of things—to the differences, fundamental in their character, between the Catholic Church in practice as well as in theory, and the Church of his birth and baptism. Archdeacon Manning was, indeed, acquainted with the Primitive Church, the Church of the Ancient Fathers, with the Church of Rome, only however, as known in history more or less truly; but not with that practically to him invisible Church, with which he, as an Anglican, claimed kinship. For the Church of Rome, as made known to him in its actual life and working, came to him in some sort as a new revelation. To judge, at least from some reflections in the diary, the effect produced by the dogmatic teaching and the objective system of Catholic worship was not altogether favourable to the conduct and claims of the Anglican Church.

Be that, however, as it may, it is evident at that time Archdeacon Manning did not consider himself an enemy in a hostile camp. He presented himself as a true-bearer to the Church, which did not recognise him as one of her sons. He was received by the priests and monks of Belgium as a friend among friends. Every Church was open to him, at every monastery he was a welcome guest. From him no information was withheld. The secrets of the prison house, which Mr. Newdegate then almost an unquestioned authority on convents used to denounce in and out of Parliament, were not revealed to him, only because there were none to reveal.

Archdeacon Manning made the most of his Belgium friends and of his opportunities: as he did when he reached Italy and made himself at home in Italian monasteries and with Italian priests and monks. No Anglican Divine of name and note, as far as I know, was ever on such intimate terms with Catholic priests and monks—not in England, indeed, but abroad—as Archdeacon Manning during his twelve months sojourn in Catholic lands. In this spiritual retreat, God laid deep in the heart of his elect the foundations of his future faith.

## EPISODE IX.

WRESTLING WITH THE ANGEL OF THE LORD,  
1848-51

A voi venite la creatura bella  
Bianco vestita e ne la fama quida  
Per tremolar l'orgoglio e la stella.  
Le braccia appese ed inde-pese l'ale,  
Disse: Venite que son presso i grandi,  
Ed agevolamente l'onno si sale.  
*Il Peripetorio. DANTE.*

I must pass lightly over in these pages the years that intervened before the divine Grant ordained of God. I can do no more than merely allude to the year 47-48, when the Anglican Church was again racked and rent by a bitter controversy, provoked by Lord John Russell's appointment of Hampden, a *Semi-Arian*, as Bishop of Hereford. Bishop Wilberforce made the welkin ring with his vigorous protests and denunciations. He took the foremost part in the movement, called meetings all over the country which, in spite of the fact, that Lord John Russell was the dispenser of the highest ecclesiastical patronage, were attended by Deans and Archdeacons and other dignitaries, at which Resolutions were passed in condemnation of the action of the Government. No fewer than fourteen Bishops protested against the appointment of Dr. Hampden, already censured by Convocation at Oxford as holding erroneous opinions. It was all in vain. Lord John Russell was obstinate and stood upon his rights. Bishop Wilberforce was weak and bent *more xto* before the storm.

In that year of ecclesiastical hubbub and turmoil where, it was asked, was Archdeacon Manning? Was there no room for two Richmonds in the field? Bishop Wilberforce in a letter to a friend, related how on telling 'the Bishop of London, that Manning had gone to Rome on account of his health the Bishop wickedly replied: 'I thought he had gone to Rome after the publication of his last Volume of sermons' '\* We know as I have already shown how Archdeacon Manning, providentially delivered from awkward entanglements spent that year for the Anglican Church, a year of controversy and turmoil for him a year of peace and spiritual meditation. What fresh fuel would it not have added to the fires of Ultra-Protestant

\* In Wilberforce's diary this anecdote is related as referring to the year 1828—evidently an error.

fanaticism, had it been known, as it would have been in our inquisitive day of telegraphs and of special correspondents, that, instead of fighting the Anglican battle at home, the Archdeacon of Chichester was to have been seen, day after day Sundays included, in the Churches of Rome, kneeling in devotion before the Blessed Sacrament at Benediction or at the Elevation in the mass — or spending his afternoons at many a Monastery discussing theology with Italian Monks. It was for him a time of retirement of meditation and searchings of the heart, a veritable seed-time of grace, which within three years, produced a rich and abounding harvest.

If the appointment of Dr. Hampden as Bishop of Hereford was a striking evidence of the triumph of Erastianism, it brought sorrow and dismay to the heart of Archdeacon Manning, for it traversed the one principle which he held sacred alike as Evangelical, as High Churchman, and as Catholic — the principle of the supremacy of religion, the independence of the Church in all matters appertaining to faith. But worse still was in store, for the Gorham Judgment, by which a Civil Tribunal declared that baptism may be either held, or denied, by a clergyman in the Church of England without offence or forfeiture of his rights, was a signal manifestation and exercise of the Royal Supremacy. The High Church party were in consternation and dismay. The tenour of the Judgment of the Court of Appeal reached the ever-open ear of the vigilant Archdeacon of Chichester early on the morning of the fatal day on which it was to be delivered. He hastened to communicate the fatal tidings to Mr Gladstone with whom he was wont in those days to take counsel. Starting up, for owing to some slight ailment he was still in his own room, Mr Gladstone, throwing up both arms, exclaimed, "Then the Church of England is ruined irretrievably ruined!"\* The famous Protest touching the Royal Supremacy in matters ecclesiastical couched in resolute and uncompromising terms, was drawn up by Archdeacon Manning, and signed by the leading representatives lay and clerical of the High Church Party.† It was but a *breve vita* *fulvum* as far as the

\* This incident was related to me in 1887 by Cardinal Manning.

† The protest was signed, amongst others, by "H. E. Manning, Archdeacon of Chichester; R. J. Wilberforce, Archdeacon of East Riding; W. Hodge M.A., Regius Professor of Hebrew, Cambridge.



signatories were concerned. The Protest was disregarded. The Rev. Charles J. Gorham was inducted into his benefice in spite of the refusal, and without the authorization of Dr. Phillpotts, the lion of the fold of Judah, as the famous fighting Bishop of Exeter was described in those days. The rest of the Bishops acquiesced in, or tamely submitted to, the Erastian procedure of the State. Of the Signatories to the Protest six became Catholics: but the majority either, like the Bishops, acquiesced, or remained sullen and silent: one to this day—the Venerable Archdeacon Denison—still fills the air with piteous jeremiads over the shameful lapse of the Church of England into Erastianism. As a result of this fruitless Protest and of the inaction of the Bishops, too many of the ancient Tractarian party drifted into the wilds and wastes of Agnosticism.

Things began to settle down. The Gorham Protest was only one Protest the more, that had been whistled down the wind. Archdeacon Manning as yet showed no outward sign. In spite of searchings of heart, he clung still with the hope of despair to the Church of his baptism, seeking and striving whether he might yet find in her living traces of God's presence. Time went on. The fatal Gorham Judgment had been accepted by the Church of England: the Royal supremacy recognised. The Ides of March had come and gone. Yet Manning still made no outward sign. He was silent. Perhaps he was meditating in his heart on the words he spoke at the time of Newman's retirement to Littlemore :—" This, then, is no season of controversy, it is a time for deeds and not for words: we must do and not talk great things."

But at that " time for deeds," the Archdeacon of Chichester did not do " great things "—great things of the nature of those done by Newman and so many others. Was there, then, not a danger—lest the test and trial year of 1850 should not pass for Manning, still kicking against the goad, as had passed the year '45, that *annus mirabilis* of Divine Grace? In that troublous hour for the Anglican Church: that day of sorrow for so many of our separated brethren, a Novena was held in celebration of the opening of the Church of St. Barnabas, Pimlico. Frequent and fervent prayers and communions were offered up, day by

day, by pious congregations for the deliverance of the Church in that day of trial from the bondage of the Civil Power. \*

During the Novena, within the octave of the consecration of the Church of St. Barnabas, 1850 all the chief leaders or defenders of the High Church party preached, morning and evening. Among the preachers were the Bishop of London, Bishop Wilberforce, Archdeacon Manning, Dr. Pusey, Keble, Sewell, H. W. Wilberforce, Neale, Bennett, Upton Richards, the incumbent of Margaret Street Chapel in succession to Frederick Oakeley, and Dr. Mill the Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge. All these representatives both of the High Church and Tractarian party one after another from the pulpit of St. Barnabas, denounced the Gorham Judgment just pronounced by the Privy Council, in terms of righteous indignation, or bewailed the condition of the Church of England under the stunning blow," as Dr. Pusey said "inflicted upon her," or exhorted, like H. W. Wilberforce the Bishops to defend "the sacrament of baptism against attack, and to preserve the unity of the Faith." Of all these preachers, Archdeacon Manning alone was silent: he made no allusion to the Gorham Judgment he had not a word to say against the reproach "that the last vestiges of Catholicism are gone, or are at least rapidly passing away from sight." †

If the Archdeacon of Chichester had not as yet, since the fruitless Protest, lifted up his voice before the face of the Church in condemnation of its acceptance of the Gorham Judgment, in his private letters, he shows that his heart was wounded to the quick. Out of the numerous private letters kindly placed in my hands, I can only quote here a few passages, referring to the most critical period in Mannings life—the time of trial for his heart and soul, that followed the

\* W. H. Mill, D.D., p. 373. Sermons preached at St. Barnabas, London. W. J. Cleaver, 1850.

† Among the congregation were Lord and Lady Fielding, afterwards Earl of Denbigh, penitents of Archdeacon Manning, who, as Catholics some years later, dedicated to Catholic uses the Church at Pantasaph, which they had as Anglicans, intended to devote to the service of the Church of England. Lord Denbigh has soon followed the Cardinal, his revered teacher, guide, and friend. Let us hope and pray that he too, has entered into Eternal rest in reward for his faith and fidelity.

**Gorham Judgment.** I take the following passage from a letter addressed to a near relative, dated—

My dearest ———,

Lavington, June 18th, 1850.

. . . . . We are in a trial greater than I have ever known, and fraught, I believe, with the gravest consequences. But first let me tell you to believe nothing of me but what comes from me. The world has sent me long ago to P. IX.; but I am still here, and if I may lay my bones under the sod in Lavington Churchyard with a soul clear before God all the world could not move me. . . . . I am both calm and patient, deeply sad indeed, and reduced to silence. For I am compelled to acknowledge that the laws, which I believe to be divine, are violated. . . . . People tell me to trust and love the Church of England; who has trusted or loved it more? Who loves it more now, even when the foundations of trust are shaken? . . . . . My contest now is with the State and the world; with secular Churchmen and those who of a divine would make it a human Society, or at the best a Protestant Communion. . . . . And I feel, that the love of our Divine Lord will keep us all safe. It is His goodness which gives me the consolation of so many loving hearts, and yours among the kindest. May He bless you both. H.E.M.\*

In another letter, Archdeacon Manning speaks of his own advisers, whom he names, "I think, abler, calmer, and safer, I could hardly find. No—no mind has any influence to hurry me beyond my own judgment . . . . . Therefore, be so far at ease about me."† This letter was written in the view of putting at ease the minds of so many of his intimate friends, who were under grave apprehension, that Manning, after the Gorham Judgment (March 8th), was being hurried on by others beyond his own judgment. On the same subject, the following passages occur in a letter dated—

My dear ———

Lavington, June 30th, 1850.

It is part of the trial, that so few really see the peril and the crisis. . . . . This week I hope to send to the Press a letter to the Bishop of Chichester. Archdeacon Harrison‡ comes to-morrow and will go over it with me: then Gladstone and Hope. I shall then see my way more clearly. Believe me it is most calm, guarded and weighed—but it goes home. . . . . Write as often as you can for it cheers me. I thank God, that I have so little to bear from those I love in this hour of trial. But you all trust at least my heart before God. . . . . H.E.M.

\* Private Letters. † *Ibid.*

‡ Archdeacon Harrison was one of the two most intimate of Manning's friends in his Anglican days—Mr. Gladstone was the other—a friendship cherished to the last, though since the Cardinal became a Catholic they met

The Archdeacon's letter to the Bishop of Chichester, entitled "The Appellate jurisdiction of the Crown" appeared on July 2nd, 1850. It was, as described in his letter above, most calm, guarded and weighed, and if it failed, not to go home, but to bear the results he desired, it was from no want of lucidity of statement or logical conciseness or force of argument. Its moderation in tone displayed in every line enhanced the effect of absolute conviction. It was a masterpiece of lucid statement and subtle reasoning, and if it failed in its purpose, it was, because the idea, which Archdeacon Manning ever held of the Independence of the Church of England, was not consistent with the legal position of the Establishment. A most appropriate passage on the Gorham Judgment and the Appellate jurisdiction of the Crown occurs in the Synopsis, which in 1837, the Cardinal put down on paper concerning his religious opinions in his Anglican days.

The belief in the Independence of the Church as a divinely-witnessed—a doctrine ever held by Archdeacon Manning—received a severe shock by the decision of the Court of Appeal in the Gorham Case. It was an assertion of the Royal Supremacy in a matter of faith, fatal to the principle that the Church was the Supreme judge as to the valid ministry of the Faith and Sacraments of Christ.

In a letter addressed to the Bishop of Chichester, Archdeacon Manning shows how this principle is violated and the Independence of the Church denied by the decision of the Privy Council "that the doctrine held by Mr. Gorham is not contrary or repugnant to the declared doctrine of the Church of England."

Since the Gorham judgment, Spring had passed away and Summer—Autumn had come, and yet Archdeacon Manning made no sign. What did it mean? Strange rumours were abroad. Many hoped and some a few, feared that an open door had been found, a way of escape discovered for Manning.

Mr. Gladstone in the view of retaining his friend in the Anglican Church had from time to time endeavoured to induce

only once at York Place. Archdeacon Harrison, who died only a few years ago, and his wife were frequent visitors at Lazington. In a recent letter after the Archdeacon's death, Mrs. Harrison says: "At Harrow, the Cardinal and my brother Charles Thornton afterwards Incumbent of Margaret Street Chapel walked together as friends; and in after years at Ch. Ch.—my husband those three were as brothers. Sincerely yours, Isabella Harrison."



Bishop Willerforce to obtain from the majority of the Bishops, after the promulgation of the Gorham Judgment, a Declaration, that they would uphold the doctrine of the Church as regarded Baptism, and even though the declaration was not of the nature of a corporate action, yet he believed such a step would have held secure to the Church not only Archdeacon Manning, but many others, who, like him, were longing for some authoritative Declaration.

All these attempts, however, proved abortive. In a letter dated September 5th, 1850 to Bishop Willerforce, Mr. Gladstone states, that from the conversations which had taken place and the letters which had passed between Archdeacon Manning and himself, an impression was created in his mind, that though the Archdeacon was convinced of the authority of the Church of England, and believed in her mission, yet he could not disguise from himself, that there were things in the Roman Church which he preferred. Mr. Gladstone, therefore, attributed the decided attitude of Archdeacon Manning to the result of the refusal of the Bishops to propagate a Declaration, that the Gorham Judgment was neither the law nor the faith of the Church of England.

How "the peril and the crisis," as he described the effects of the Gorham Judgment, affected Archdeacon Manning is best disclosed in letters, in which, without fear or restraint, he lays bare his heart, and speaks of his plans and intentions in the immediate future. His leaving Lavington is clearly indicated—it is the greatest trial to be faced—but he gives no hint of any thought or intention of submitting to the Catholic Church.

Nine months after the Gorham Judgment he writes in a letter dated

Lavington November 18th 1850 (+)

Last Tuesday, I saw my Bishop and told him, that I should like to go away for the winter. Until I had seen him, I did not think it right to say positively, that such was my intention. But people have settled it for me and asked questions, and I find from . . . that you had heard of it. You would never think, that I could keep anything from you. But it is hard to keep pace with the tongues of people. My thought is to be in London, December 2nd, and to go, if I can, about the 5th, my first point would be to join Gladstone at Naples—and if I can I am hoping to go to Jerusalem . . . I shall be glad to send

this winter, and if I am not at Havington I had better be fairly away. Last winter in London I had no rest; and this year I have had no holiday . . . . . Whether I be right or wrong in this great trial, which has come on the face of the land, He will know, that my heart's desire is to be faithful to Him and then all is well. . . . . Give my affectionate love to . . . . .

H. E. M.

In the meantime, whilst these attempts by Bishop Wilberforce, Archdeacon Harrison, Mr. Gladstone, and many others to patch up matters were going on, an event happened, which brought things to a crisis—what the condemnation of Tract 90; what Newman's conversion and Oakeley's and Ward's, and Dalgairns and Faber's, what the appointment of Dr. Hampden, the Erastian compact with Prussia about the Jerusalem Bishopric, had not affected—for Manning's faith in the Anglican Church survived them all\*—what not even the Gorham Judgment, however deeply it troubled his soul had, at any rate, not as yet accomplished, was effected by "Circumstance," not an unspiritual god, but in this case a divine minister of Grace. The Papal Bull "given at St. Peter's, Rome, under the seal of the Fisherman," restoring the Catholic Hierarchy in England, and Wiseman's letter dated "from the Flaminian Gate," fell like a bolt from the blue. For, on the sudden Lord John Russell, in his notorious Durham letter, raised not only a "No Popery" cry throughout the length and breadth of the land, but with malignant purpose directed ultra-Protestant suspicions and jealousies against the Tractarian Party. What Protestantism had most to fear and guard against, so ran the argument, was not the audacious assaults of "Popery" but "the danger within the gates from the unworthy sons of the Church herself." The madness spread like wildfire. It affected all sorts and conditions of men from the Prime Minister and the Lord Chancellor, down to the street-boy, who chalked up "No Popery" on the walls†. There was a braying

\* This is shown in a private letter, written, at this critical period, by Archdeacon Manning, in which, among many other things I cannot repeat here, he says—"When have I spoken or written a word about the Church of England in any spirit, but of love and reverence, or with any intention, but to serve it for Christ's sake?"

† *Punch* had a caricature of Lord John Russell as a street boy chalking up "No Popery" on the wall, then running away.

of donkeys—for verily it was little else—from John-o'-Groat's to Land's End. There was a flutter in the dovescots—a flutter of voices and of petticoats from the Duchess in her Drawing-room to the Dairy-maid at the cow's udder. The milk of human kindness in that day of fanaticism was turned sour in too many an English home. Not only larky young stock-brokers, but grave, bald-headed bankers and brewers and business men made fools of themselves on Guy Fawkes Day, 1850, shouting like wild Indians, and dancing like chimney-sweeps on May-day round the effigy of Cardinal Wiseman in front of the Royal Exchange. Our generation rubbing its eyes, marvels much at such a strange outbreak of fanaticism—not merely on the part of ministers of religion, or of politicians with an eye to business, but of otherwise sedate and sober men. The nation for a time went out of its wits, and you cannot put as Lamartine I think, said of France during the Reign of Terror, a whole people into a strait jacket.

In that day of excitement, of fierce and furious fanaticism and rampant bigotry to steer a middle course was impossible for the coolest judicious of men or of Archdeacons. There was a broad line of demarcation drawn between Protestants and "Papists" and Purveyites were just as much "Papists" in the popular eye as Catholics themselves, or worse, for they were denounced as wolves in sheep's clothing. Whoso did not shout with the shouting crowd was a Romanizer in disguise. There was no middle path, no half-way house, not even at Lavington.

At last the storm reached even the quiet precincts of Lavington and Chichester. There was no help for it, no escape. The Bishop of Chichester Ashurst Turner Gilbert called upon the Archdeacon to convoke a "No Popery" meeting. Archdeacon Manning obeyed the bidding of his Bishop but declared to his assembled brethren—to the poignant regret of all present, more especially of the Bishop—that his calling them together was his last ministerial act as Archdeacon. It was the beginning of the end. Before the close of that month of monstrous madness—that Guy Fawkes month—when Cardinal Wiseman was burnt in effigy, Archdeacon Manning had made up his mind to resign his Archidiaconal office, and what was harder still his beloved living and home at Lavington.

The end is not far off. The event, ordained of God in the inscrutable counsels of Divine Wisdom, is at hand. For nigh upon twenty years, Saul of Tarsus had kicked against the goad in vain.

In that esoteric little chapel near the Buckingham Palace Road, where, in those days, the elect of the Tractarian Party took part in its dim, mystic services, or hung in rapture upon the lips of Bishop Forbes, of Brechin, Manning worshipped for the last time as an Anglican. Four or five years ago the Cardinal said, "Shall I tell you where I performed my last act of worship in the Church of England? It was in that little chapel off the Buckingham Palace Road. I was kneeling by the side of Mr. Gladstone. Just before the Communion Service commenced, I said to him 'I can no longer take the Communion in the Church of England. I rose up. 'St. Paul is at thy side' and laying my hand on Mr. Gladstone's shoulder, said: 'Come.' It was the parting of the ways. Mr. Gladstone remained, and I went my way. Mr. Gladstone still remains where I left him."

The ways of God in bringing his elect into the Church are as various as they are wonderful. A few like Saul of Tarsus, find salvation by a direct call, "a light from Heaven above the brightness of the sun, a voice speaking unto" them; some by process of argument and reasoning or of historical research, some by the study of Ecclesiastical Art or Mediæval Architecture, still more by the unconscious attraction of Divine truth, others by doubts and misgivings in the Church of their baptism, to others, again, the Divine call comes in the form of external circumstances. God speaks to their souls by acts done outside of themselves, by processes and energies working round about them for good or for ill.

As the toad that squatted at the ear of Eve was transformed by the touch of the Ithuriel like spear of Truth, so was the Church of England forced by the Sword of Peter in that day of turmoil and confusion, to show herself in her true colours as Protestant to the core, Protestant from the crown of her head to the sole of her feet, forced to speak by the mouth of her Bishops, Priests and people in her true voice. If, in accepting the Royal Supremacy imposed upon her by the Gorham Judgment she showed herself as a bond-slave



of the State; on the other hand, in her denunciations and maledictions of the Catholic Church and of the Tractarian Party—the unworthy sons," as she called them in the words of Lord John Russell, "within her gates" she spoke of her own free will—and after her kind, and out of the fulness of her heart. Walking in her liberty through the land—in all the wide domains that owned her sway—she comported herself as a Queen, oblivious, that she was not vested in the royal robes of the "King's daughter," but wore—as a bond-slave—the livery of the State. This unnatural mother disowned the children of her own womb, and cursed in that day of madness or rather of self-betrayal, not only those, that had escaped from the "House of Bondage and the City of Confusion"—but them that were yet struggling in their bonds—and striving after the freedom with which Christ had made them free. From the eyes of many in that day of rough awakening the scales fell, they fell at last from the eyes of one elected, for His divine purposes of God in the beginning of faith, and in the vision, the Church of England, by her own acts and words, stood revealed to him in her true nature. His now unsealed eyes saw that she bore upon her the fatal note of "dry breasts and a miscarrying womb." And he knew now, in the opening of his eyes by the Hand of God rough in its mercy, that for seventeen years and more he had sat a captive, not at the feet of the King's Daughter—as he had vainly imagined—but at the feet of a Rebel-Queen—who had no right to the name or title she bore—no right or claim to the robes of the "King's Daughter"—a Sorceress, that had cast her spells upon him—and had made him drink of her cup—held him captive—bound by her false wiles and charms—heart and soul, to her footstool as Merlin was bound to his forest tree by the spells and wiles of Vivien.

The last stage in this long pilgrimage from Lavington to Rome had yet to be reached. His last act of reason and his first act of faith—was in abjuring the claims of the Anglican Church.\* Another act had yet to be done—another wrench suffered—another break with his old life and Faith—Saul

\* "The last act of reason is the first act of Faith," was a proposition which the Cardinal laid down in a private letter to Mr. Gladstone on Faith and Reason.

still kicked against the goad. Archdeacon Manning could not bring himself to believe, that he was not a priest. After five hours' discussion with the Rev. Mr. Tierney, at Arundel, on the validity of Anglican Orders, in which he believed, to use his own words, "with a consciousness stronger than all reasoning," the "late Archdeacon of Chichester," with eyes aflame, in one of those "Birseker rages" not very uncommon in Archdeacon Manning, and, perhaps, not altogether unknown in the Cardinal Archbishop—rose up and said: "Then you think me insincere." Never, I verily believe, since the days of Saul of Tarsus have any of the sons of men wrestled so obstinately, or so long with the Lord. Never was a nobler wrestling, if I may so speak, because of his implicit faith and trust in the Lord, more nobly consummated than by the absolute submission of his heart and soul to the Divine will.

One heart-wrench the more; a last break with all the traditions of his life: a last humiliation, terrible to such a nature as his—the confession to himself—that all his life long he had been only a simple layman: and all was over. His hour is come: God's battle is won: and the end is this: "I, Paul, a prisoner of the Lord."

EDMUND SHERIDAN PURCELL.

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## Science Notices.

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**The Frankfort Electrical Exhibition.**—The late Frankfort Electrical Exhibition was by no means international in its exhibits. It was, however, thoroughly representative of the electrical enterprise of the German nation. A decidedly worthy feature of the exhibition was the representation of the work of the scientist as well as that of the practical engineer, an example which might well be imitated by the promoters of our own electrical exhibitions, which have hitherto been so purely commercial in their character.

At Frankfort various electrical experiments were shewn in action ; amongst them were Dr. Froelich's telephonic method of working Koenig's dancing flames from a distance. Perhaps the most interesting to electricians of these refined scientific exhibits were Dr. Froelich's method of determining electric current curves, especially those produced by alternating current dynamos, which will supply a need felt by electrical engineers. His apparatus is exceedingly simple. To the disc of a telephone there is attached a little mirror. Behind the disc is a horseshoe magnet, round whose soft iron pole piece is a coil carrying the current produced by an alternating current dynamo. The iron disc vibrates more or less under the action of the current, therefore, if a beam of light from an electric light is reflected from the little mirror on the vibrating disc on to a screen, there will be a vertical line of light on the screen. To obtain the current curve the beam is made to undergo a second reflection from a rotating mirror before reaching the screen. The rotating mirror gives a continuous horizontal line of light along the screen if there is no current flowing, and the combination of the vertical and horizontal motions of the beam gives the current curve of the particular current under examination. Dr. Froelich in practice has no less than twelve reflecting surfaces in his revolving mirror, so as to obtain the whole of the curve, and of such a size as can be easily photographed. The mirror is fixed to a gear-wheel driven off the spindle of a small alternating electric motor. When self-induction or mutual induction is added to the circuit, the current curve on the screen changes its shape, and interesting effects in this way are obtained.

The greatest attraction at the exhibition was undoubtedly the *experiment of electrically transmitting the energy of a stream at*

Lauffen to Frankfort a distance of some 109 miles. This energy was utilised at the exhibition to light 1000 incandescent lamps, and to pump up water to form a huge artificial waterfall. This experiment, produced by the joint enterprise of the Allgemeines Electricitäts Gesellschaft of Berlin, and the Oerlikon Works of Zurich, is a gigantic stride in electrical application, and should prove an immediate stimulus to the civilization of such natural sources of energy as waterfalls, streams, and ebb and flow of the tide. The success of the experiment is due to the utilization of the transformer principle, by which the electrical pressure can be instantly changed from high to low, or *vice versa*. The currents travel for the 109 miles at a pressure of 18,000 volts, and when they reach their destination the pressure is lowered to 100 volts. Three bare copper wires, only 0.158 inch in thickness, and supported on ordinary telegraphic posts convey the electric energy. The only safety precautions being that the posts have upon them graphic representations of skeletons as a warning to trespassers. But it is inhuman to make death the penalty of a climb up the posts, as such might be undertaken by a thoughtless child—no wires conveying such dangerous currents should be insulated. It is estimated that some 110 horse power is utilised at the Frankfort exhibition, but doubtless before long the results of accurate tests of the actual power received will be forthcoming.

Besides containing so much of deep scientific interest, the exhibition did not fail to provide that lighter form of scientific entertainment which seems necessary for the popular success of such undertakings. There was the telephonic reproduction of the opera at Munich, 200 miles away. There was an electrical theatre designed to show the varied optical effects that can be produced by incandescent lamps, so arranged that brightness and colour can be regulated by the manipulation of a handle. The effects of sunrise, sunset, the alpine glow, were reproduced by this apparatus in a most novel manner.

**The International Meteorological Conference.** This, the 11th of its kind, was held at Munich, from August 26th to September 2nd, and was of a private character, no Government support being given. In fact the Governments of Germany and Russia were averse to countenancing the objects of the conference. There were 32 members present, and English was mainly spoken, though German was the official language. Great Britain was represented by Mr. R. H. Scott, The United States by four members, Germany sent nine, France two, Russia three, Austria, Hungary, Roumania, and Bulgaria one each.



Methods of observation were considered, and the instruments for making same. With regard to the methods of observation, it was proposed that in cloud observation a limit should be fixed of the region observed to a certain zenith. The estimation of the total amount of cloud in the sky was discussed, likewise sunshine observation. A proposal to fix a universal zone time for meteorological work was vetoed on the score of impracticability.

In considering meteorological instruments, the anemometer received much attention. We can realise the importance of this portion of the conference, for the advance of our knowledge of wind measurement, when we remember that so lately as May, 1890, our Royal Meteorological Society directed experiments should be carried out simultaneously with various different instruments, stating that until this had been made, the Society could not recommend any mode of measurement. At the present time, our National Observatories carry out wind observations with rival instruments, with the object of testing their comparative value. The question arose of a uniform height above ground in anemometers for purposes of observation. The importance of *position* to Meteorological instruments is apparent, and to regulate any necessary alterations in same is, in Great Britain one of the main duties of the visiting Inspector of Stations. Dr. Sprung has lately pointed out in a German Journal that the perfectly open exposure of a thermometer screen is even harder to obtain than that of a rain-gauge. These two important instruments likewise received attention at the conference. A recommendation was made referring to standard thermometers, and it was urged that temperature should be referred to the Air thermometer.

Various rain gauges have been made, and the late exhibition by the Royal Meteorological Society of this class of instrument, showed to the London scientific world how great the variety still in use throughout the various countries. In considering the rain gauge the conference came to a decision that, acted on, would lead in this country at least to a large registration of days on which rain falls, the definition of the rain gauge was lowered, and a record of every 4 100th of an inch was required. The conference likewise gave advice on the placing of rain gauges on roofs. As regards radiation records no special actinometer was recommended for general adoption.

**The New Star in the Milky Way.** -The present century has been exceptionally favoured with stellar apparitions. No less than six have occurred since Hind's star shone out in Ophiuchus in 1848:

while the greater part of two previous centuries had been, in this respect, a blank. Tycho Brahe, however, in 1572, and Kepler in 1604, had each the opportunity of observing the evanescent splendour of an object nearly equalling Venus at her brightest and Hipparchus, according to the statement of Pliny, derived from a similar outburst the impulse for the construction of his famous star-catalogue. There have been a good many besides; about a score, in fact, are credibly recorded, and it is remarkable that almost all have made their transient appearance within the zone of the Milky Way. It is then unmistakably evident that the conditions prevailing in that great ring-shaped aggregation are such as to favour conflagrations on the portentous scale of that which we have been recently witnessing.

New stars are not, like comets, visitors to our skies. They are at immeasurable distances, and their real motions, however rapid, hence make no difference in their positions as seen from the earth. That is to say, they *appear* perfectly stationary. Each outburst represents then a genuine blaze, a sudden development of light in a previously dim body. But as to the means by which such developments are brought about, nothing certain can be said. It is exceedingly unlikely that they can be due, as some have thought, to actual collisions. Perhaps the true explanation may be found in some kind of electrical action between cosmoal masses in swift relative motion, of the nature of that exemplified, on a smaller scale, in cometary phenomena.

Our latest "guest star," to use a Chinese expression, is situated in the southern part of the constellation Auriga, just where the celestial charioteer dips his feet into the stream of the Milky Way. Its arrival was signified, on the 1st of February, to Dr. Copeland, the Scottish Astronomer royal, by means of an anonymous post card, the writer of which has since turned out to be Mr. Thomas Anderson, a citizen of the good town of Edinburgh, modestly devoted to astronomical pursuits. He had noticed the object probably for a week before the novelty of its character forced itself upon his attention, and a cablegram from America announced, a few days subsequently to the publication of his discovery, that it had been three times during the month of December photographed at Harvard College, where star-charting operations on a great scale are carried on under the direction of Professor Pickering. There its history seems to begin. No existing catalogue includes the strange object; no record affirms its existence, which must accordingly have been of the obscure sort belonging to stars below the ninth or tenth magnitude.

of brightness. It would have been impossible to pick it out from the undistinguished multitude of the stellar host, as destined to future celebrity ; yet, in the early days of February, its radiance had increased, at any rate, one hundred times, and the attention of astronomers in all parts of the northern hemisphere was riveted by the extraordinary peculiarities disclosed through the analysis of its light. For it not only showed the characteristic blazing spectrum of a "Nova," but the bright lines freely distributed from end to end of the coloured band unrolled out of its telescopic image by the dispersing effect of the prism, proved to be doubled by dark ones. Now the contrasted members of these pairs of lines undoubtedly originated from the radiations of the same substances, the most conspicuous and readily identifiable being due respectively to hydrogen and sodium ; but they were not exactly in their usual places. The dark lines, in fact, were all without exception pushed a little towards the blue end of the spectrum, while the bright companions deviated still more noticeably towards the red. Such changes of position are a well-known result of end-on movement in luminous bodies ; but here the movements indicated were in opposite directions, the dark lines asserting rapid approach to the earth, the bright lines, on the contrary, betraying an extraordinary velocity of recession. Only one explanation was possible. The apparent contradiction could not be reconciled otherwise than by the supposition that the new star in Auriga was in reality made up of two separate bodies rushing past each other at a tremendous speed. They differed, moreover, very greatly in constitution. The body emitting the bright lines was largely gaseous ; the adjacent globe seemed to possess a more strictly sun-like nature. The former claims the higher velocity. It is retreating at the unparalleled rate of 420 miles a second, the latter, meanwhile, advancing at about 300. This gives, by Dr. Vogel's "spectrographic" measurements, a speed of separation of seven hundred and twenty miles a second ! With each day that passes, in other words, this singular pair of stars are increasing their mutual distance by sixty-two millions of miles : and there is yet no sign of slackening. The tell-tale lines show no marked tendency to coalesce as the temporary brightness of the combined object has waned. Yet gravitating masses could not make so close an approach to each other as these two have evidently done, without describing some kind of orbit round one another. And orbital motion should, under the circumstances, change very rapidly in rate, as well as most probably in direction. Hence we seem compelled to suppose that it constitutes only an insignificant part of the total velocity. For the decision of

this point, however, the results of further investigations must be awaited.

The star of 1892 is the first Nova which has been investigated by the aid of the camera. Autographic records of it have been obtained, both simple and prismatic, through the means of reflectors and refractors, with short and with long exposures. Photographs of its spectrum have been taken by Father Sidgreaves at Stonyhurst, by Mr. Lockyer at South Kensington, by Dr. Vogel at Potsdam, and, the best of all, by Dr. and Mrs. Huggins at Tulse Hill. The last shows an extraordinarily long range of invisible, ultra violet rays, such as could only be emitted by a body at a very high temperature. The glow of this marvellous object, indeed, is of an actinic intensity comparable to that possessed by the brilliant rays of Sirius. Nevertheless, it is not a white star. It shines with a distinct and unvarying pale yellow colour. It is not, however, hazy or indistinct. The best observers are unanimous in declaring that the straw tinted beams charged with such wonderful implicit revelations, proceed from a sharp stellar point exempt from the least suspicion of nebulous affinities. Emphatic testimony to this effect is derived from a photograph to which Mr. Roberts gave a long exposure for the special purpose of bringing out possible lurking symptoms of cosmical haze in the vicinity of the Nova. None were found to exist.

**Lunar Photography.** The moon pictures obtained by De La Rue, Rutherford, and other pioneers in that line, were full of a promise which long remained unfulfilled. Now however at last, after a standstill of a quarter of a century, lunar photography seems to have entered upon a period of steady advance. That this should sooner or later come to pass, was indeed inevitable. The vast improvements made in other branches of the art of chemical delineation as applied to the heavenly bodies, could not fail eventually to extend to that concerned with our satellite. Excellent results have accordingly been secured both at the Lick observatory and at Paris by the adoption of the novel plan of piecemeal portraiture. Detailed representations of particular districts are substituted for general views of the lunar surface. The cartographic scale, in fact, has been greatly enlarged, the lunar scenery being faithfully reproduced bit by bit, under varied conditions of illumination. The records thus accumulated will beyond doubt prove of inestimable value to future selenographers, desirous of tracing back the history, and testing the imputed fluctuations, of the rugged features of our celestial consort.



Nevertheless, no single photograph, however perfect, can adequately portray so much as one lunar crater. For the actinic power of the surface varies so much even within the same restricted area, that fine gradations of exposure are needed to bring out all the heights and hollows and inequalities of level perceptible with a good telescope. A series of photographs, accordingly, taken, some almost instantaneously, others in progressively augmented times, would be required for the registration of the diversified effects of light and shade in any given formation. Crater-pits and rills, dark terrace-lines along lighter walls, summits of dazzling brilliancy, dull plains, obscure chasms, all claim slightly different intervals for self-disclosure; and a perfect picture can thus only be produced by the combination of many designedly partial ones. This has been well pointed out by Professor Weinek, of Prague, who has undertaken the minute study of the Lick negatives. But although these have been taken with what may be called *average* exposures, each of them furnishes, in the words of the same authority, "a wonderfully beautiful relief of considerable expanse, which can never be retained and depicted with equal truth to nature by the most skilful draughtsman, on account of the great mass of visible objects and the rapid change of lunar shadows; and at the same time it gives an astonishingly accurate detail of individual portions, which for the control and revision of present lunar charts becomes of the utmost value to the selenographer."

The results of Professor Weinek's photographic studies are embodied in sets of beautiful drawings which will shortly be published. The lavish care bestowed upon them can be no better illustrated than by the statement that a single crater usually engages from forty to fifty hours of arduous toil. It is interesting to learn that he finds it necessary, for the purpose of showing the full amount of detail contained in the best negatives, to use a twenty-fold enlargement in the corresponding drawings. This is equivalent to the application, in the viewing telescope, of a magnifying power of one thousand times; in other words, the diameter of the full moon would, on the same scale of delineation, exceed nine feet. One important fruit of the scrutiny so diligently carried on at Prague, is the discovery of a new crater connected with an extensive system of "rills," none of them previously noted. The fissures named by Schröter "rills," form a curious feature in lunar topography. They are some hundreds of yards deep, and sometimes run to a length of a hundred or a hundred and fifty miles. But as to their origin and meaning nothing is certainly known. Some consider them to be

cracks produced during the cooling of a hardened crust: in the opinion of others they represent dried up watercourses. Their obvious volcanic relations are not, however, favourable to the latter view. Thus, we learn from Professor Holden that "Professor Weinek's new crater lies at the intersection of two of these ridges, some of which are formed of confluent craters." No river or stream could ever, one would think, have followed a bed so constituted.

One of the splendid lunar photographs taken by the Brothers Henry at the Paris observatory is reproduced in *Knowledge* for March, 1892. The instrument employed was a photographic refractor thirteen inches in aperture, the image at the principal focus of which was, by the use of magnifying lenses, enlarged fifteen times before being received on the sensitive plate. The resulting impression delineates accordingly a small part of a disc one metre in diameter. Neither in this, nor in any other lunar photograph, can the slightest trace of an atmosphere be detected. The definition is as sharp towards the edges, as at the centre of the disc. No veil, however tenuous, of air or vapour is anywhere perceptibly interposed. Modern researches have indeed reduced to a minimum the outstanding possibility left for the existence of a lunar atmosphere. Their results are, at most, compatible with the presence of an evanescent remnant of an appurtenance which must, nevertheless, we should suppose, have once played its part in the economy of our dependant globe.

**A Great Sunspot.**—The largest group of spots ever photographed at Greenwich emerged to view, at the eastern edge of the sun's disc, on the 5th of last February. Six days later it was centrally situated, and on the 18th it vanished, carried out of sight by the rotation of the great globe torn and stained by it in its shining surface. Its appearance, when in full view, was described by Miss E. Brown, in a paper read before the British Astronomical Association, as most imposing. The principal nucleus was twofold, and displayed a wide encircling border of penumbra, or half shade, and a congeries of satellite spots strewn around it covered an area about 150,000 miles in length by 75,000 in width. No less, in fact, than  $\frac{1}{8}$  of the sun's visible hemisphere was affected by this tremendous disturbance, which, in any of its numerous minor feet, could have engulfed our little earth with as little concern as the Dragon of Wantley displayed when he

Swallowed the mayor, asleep in his chair,

one memorable Sunday morning at church. Safeguarded as

it was by distance against such a catastrophe, our planet was nevertheless far from insensible to the agitation of its master-orb. A violent magnetic disturbance prevailed in Europe and America on the 13th and 14th of February ; electric wires were so fully occupied in carrying earth-currents as to be with difficulty available for the transmission of telegraphic and telephonic messages ; and the skies were lit up at night with one of the most brilliant auroral displays of recent years. The characteristic luminous arch does not appear to have been seen in this country, but a crimson patch to the west of north formed the basis from which yellowish streamers flickered and leaped up to within thirty degrees of the zenith. Some attempts at spectral observations on the phenomenon made by Mr. Common at Ealing, were frustrated by the brightness of the moon.

**Artificial Rain-making.**—Of all the attempts of modern science perhaps that which at first view seems most audacious is the effort to control the weather. Such an attempt is embodied in the so-called rain-making experiments in Texas of this autumn, and in England Lord Rayleigh's electrical experiments on drops of water, Mr. Shelford Bidwell's electrified jet of steam, and Dr. Oliver Lodge's investigation into the action of electricity on dust and fog have been indirect but preparatory steps to any such undertaking. In Texas it was endeavoured to produce rain by explosion. The original idea seems to have been the explosion of small balloons of about ten feet diameter, and filled with a mixture of hydrogen and oxygen in the ratio of two to one. Preparations were also made to fire sticks of dynamite on kites, but in practice the experimenters seem to have encountered difficulties with the balloons and kites, and to have abandoned them. The only explosions that were at all systematically carried out were those produced by firing rackarock. It seems to be a general opinion that the explosion is the direct cause of precipitation of rain, but it seems that explosion is only the indirect cause. An upward movement of the air currents seems to be the natural process preceding rainfall. In ascending the air becomes under diminished pressure more and more saturated until it condenses its surplus vapour in the form of rain. The explosion starts the small upward movement, of itself seemingly incapable of producing rain, but if the atmosphere is in the unstable condition which will continue and intensify the upward movement, rain must certainly ensue. To increase our knowledge of the instability of the state of the atmosphere in respect of its humidity and its rate of vertical temperative decrement would be a

desirable preliminary step for rain-making experiments. Data might be supplied by observations taken with captive balloons provided with self-recording instruments. In these rain-making experiments it is difficult to tell whether the actual rainfall following the explosion is the consequence of the explosion or only the usual operations of nature. In fact the experimenters at Texas seem to think their experiments last summer have been anything but conclusive—even on the occasion of the last experiment on August 25th—when the condition to the casual observer seemed unfavourable for rain, and the results of the firing seemed to have produced an artificial thunderstorm, it appears that rain had been forecasted from Washington for the actual scene of operations. It is evident that before any conclusions can be arrived at there will need to be a prolonged series of experiments under every condition of atmosphere. As regards the proposed electrical precipitation of rain there is certainly a field for investigation. It seems pretty certain that electrical action produces a coalescence of drops of water. If, as Lord Rayleigh has shown, a stick of sealing wax that has been rubbed is held near a fountain jet, the fine spray instantly coalesces into large drops. Mr. Shelford Bidwell has varied this experiment by throwing the shadow of a jet of steam upon a screen. Under ordinary conditions the shadow of the jet appears of slight intensity and of neutral tint, but when the jet is electrified the shadow of the jet becomes much clearer, having an orange-brown appearance. It is clear that in this case coalescence of the drops takes place. Dr. Oliver Lodge has successfully dissipated miniature fogs and fumes under glass receivers by electrical discharges, and in 1886 he said, in an address given on one of the Friday evening meetings at the Royal Institution, "This much I regard as certain that if a kite or captive balloon (a kite for windy days, and a balloon for calm ones) be flown into a cloud and made to give off electricity for some time that cloud will begin to rain. It is just possible that by the automatic coalescence of drops into larger ones the potential of the charge so given would be high enough to cause an artificial thunderstorm. If true results are practically realised it will be fascinating work for the farmer to prematurely tap the clouds as they pass over his dried-up meadows, but it is doubtful whether they would benefit the world at large. If rain is artificially produced in one place another locality will be robbed of what would have been its natural right."

**The Exclusion of Dust.** Dr. Bridgman Teale, whose efforts to produce a smoke-reducing grate have been certainly successful, has



recently made investigations to ascertain the means by which dust can be excluded from our houses, and especially from bookcases, cupboards, and other receptacles wherein are placed valuable articles, which are generally exposed to its ravages. Dr. Pridgin Teale maintains that the air which is admitted into our rooms, and which forces itself into our receptacles, must be filtered. This process will need a revolution in our windows. He insists that the window should be air-tight, and that the necessary air for maintaining the ventilation of the apartment and for supplying the fire should be admitted through a series of small jets near the ceiling. To shut out soot and other dust the air is to be filtered by a canvas screen, placed diagonally in a flat tube leading up to the jets. In the model window, plate glass and the window sash is abolished. Dr. Pridgin Teale disapproves of the plate glass, on the grounds that a large surface of glass chills the air of the room, and thus induces cold currents in the room, which have not the advantage of being fresh air. His window is divided so that one-half vertically, and in a large window one-third, opens inwards on hinges; the other half, or two-thirds, being fixed, and therefore air-tight. The hinged window is so constructed that when closed the framework of the window locks into a double rebated fast frame, after the manner of a jeweller's show case. Each pane is doubled, a second pane being placed inside the ordinary pane at a distance of five-eighths of an inch. The outside pane is fixed with putty in the ordinary way, but the inner pane is held in its place by two small nails. Thus it can be easily removed, if it is necessary, to clean the inside window, but the necessity of cleaning the inside window is avoided by facing the flange against which the pane is pressed with cotton velvet. The air which passes between the panes is thus filtered of its dust. It is, however, extremely doubtful whether such a window would find any favour in an ordinary house. In most houses, during a large portion of the year, the windows are open throughout the day. In a city a quantity of dust must enter the windows with the air. During the summer months a dust-tight window would not be of much value, since its advantages would not be made use of. No arrangement of filtering air tubes would compensate for the closed window in the dog days. As regards the material for dust filters, Dr. Pridgin Teale has by experiment come to the conclusion that dommette flannel and cotton wool are the best medium. Screens of such material should, he advises, be provided for bookcases, chests of drawers, and cupboards. A bookcase with a glass front should have no solid wooden back, but for it flannel should be substituted,

being loosely fixed over the skeleton frame. If the workmanship of the bookcase is very perfect, and if velvet is provided at every place where the edges of the doors come into contact with their frame, Dr. Pridgin Teale thinks that a much smaller area of filter, perhaps even a tube filled with cotton wool, would suffice. For cupboards he would substitute flannel screens for every panel. In the case of chests of drawers the ordinary back is to be made of flannel, and the front of the drawers may be perforated with holes and a filter placed on the inner surface of the front of the drawer. But even these latter suggestions are not very likely to find favour in a domestic establishment. A cupboard with panels of flannel is suggestive of an ugliness perhaps more intolerable to a fine æsthetic sense than the dust we would exclude. It is rather with the curators of public libraries and museums that Dr. Pridgin Teale's suggestions will obtain consideration. It is the duty of a curator to preserve to the utmost the public property entrusted to his care from the devastating influence of dirt and soot, and there should be every effort to make the cases which contain the nation's priceless treasures dust proof.

**The Crystal Palace Electrical Exhibition**—The exhibition, opened at the Crystal Palace at the beginning of this year, cannot be said to be so thoroughly representative of the electrical industry of the British nation, as was the Frankfort Exhibition of the German. It is, however, on a scale of sufficient magnitude to show the vast progress that has been made in electrical contrivances since the exhibition held ten years ago in the same building. At that time the attainment of practical electric light was a novelty, and the exhibition of 1881 was remarkable for the uncontrolled glare which was effused from every available corner of the buildings. At that time every company possessed its own type of incandescent lamp, and each vied with the other in the attempt to outdo in the luminosity of their exhibit. Since that time a long and tedious process of litigation has placed the monopoly of incandescent lamp manufacture in the hands of one company who, in the present exhibition, have raised a memorial of their victories in a huge screen of 5,000 lamps. The Edison-Swan lamp exhibit is certainly remarkable in showing the variety of form in which the lamp can be made. They exhibit lamps differing in candle power from a fraction of a candle to 2,000 candles. In size of vacuum globe they vary from less than half an inch in diameter to nine and a half inches. Some lamps are pear shaped, others tubular, others conical, others twisted—in fact the vacuum bulb can be blown into any

conceivable shape to suit the fancy of the consumer. The chief feature of the exhibition is the manner in which the electric light is subdued for the requirements of domestic use. It is essentially an exhibition of electric fittings and lamp shades, which are well-nigh brought to perfection. In no exhibit is there any obtrusive glare. In some the light is moderated by the vacuum globe being made of ground or opal glass, or tinted various colours, in others the light is screened by shades of numerous materials and hues. The display in the Entertainment court is a beautiful specimen of the controlled effulgence of electric lighting. An interesting exhibition is afforded by Messrs. Siemens who perform experiments before an audience with an electro-motive force of 50,000 volts. Only a few months ago it seemed a marvellous feat to handle 18,000 volts. Messrs. Siemens have now more than doubled that number. The high pressure thus represented is not used as were the 18,000 volts at Frankfort, for any transmission of power to a distance, but simply to convince the public of the ease with which currents of low intensity can be transformed into those of high pressure. The electric discharge produced by this high voltage on a glass plate is an experiment which cannot fail to make the spectators realize the power that is present. A striking experiment is the "Arc" produced by the current of 50,000 volts; when the carbon points are separated a flame leaps up from each point to the height of more than one foot. To prove that the voltage used in these experiments is really 50,000 volts, the current is sent through 500 incandescent lamps joined up in series, each of these lamps requires 100 volts to light it, therefore the 500 lamps could not be lit if the 50,000 volts was not reached. There are some very neat contrivances in the way of heating by electricity to be seen at the Exhibition. There are kettles and saucepans which contain the heating apparatus within them, and the utensil has only to be connected to the electrical circuit. At present it is a somewhat expensive process to use electricity for heating, but the facility with which those who have electric energy laid on to their houses can thus apply it will entice many to commit the extravagance.

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## Notes of Travel and Exploration.

**Captain Younghusband's Journey in the Pamirs.**—The mountainous region lying to the north of Kashmir was the subject of Captain Younghusband's interesting address to the Royal Geographical Society on Monday evening, February 8th. The title of the "Roof of the World," bestowed on these plateaus, is fully justified by the height, vastness and grandeur of their mountains, which seemed to him to render it the culminating point of Western Asia. Desolate as is the country, it yet contains secluded valleys where hardy hillmen till the ground and form villages. Among the most remote of these is a little State, called Hunza by its neighbours on the southern, and Kanjut on the northern side of the passes, which long withstood the tides of conquest eddying round it. Some theorists see in this little valley, whose chiefs claim descent from Alexander the Great, the cradle of the formidable Hun race. An unusually daring attack by these freebooters on a caravan from Yarkand to Kashmir attracted the attention of the British authorities, and induced Captain Younghusband in the summer of 1889 to start from Kashmir to the point where the raid was committed, intending to travel back to India by way of Gilgit. Leaving Abbotabad on July 11th, with an escort of six men of the 5th Ghorkhas, he arrived on the 31st at Leh, where the final arrangements were made, and left it on August 8th. The first objective point—Shahidula—to reach which four passes ranging from 17,500 to 18,500 feet high had to be crossed, was attained on August 21st, and hence, after a fortnight spent in collecting supplies, a fresh start was made to explore the country up to the Taghdumbash Pamir through the valley of Khal Chuskin, described as containing very fine scenery. From a depression in the range known as the Aghul Pass, a magnificent view was obtained, huge mountains rising up in a succession of sharp needle-like peaks, with the great ice ranges in the background. Most perilous was the exploration of the glaciers in which the Oprang river takes its rise, as may be judged from the following description.

**A Perilous Passage.** "We were making towards a ravine up which we thought was the only possible way to the top of the pass, and were rounding an icy slope forming one side of the ravine, when suddenly we heard a report like thunder, and then a rushing sound



We knew at once that it was an avalanche: it was coming from straight above us, and I felt in that moment greater fear than I ever yet have done, for we could see nothing, but only heard this tremendous rushing sound coming down upon us. One of the men called out to run, but we could not do so, for we were on an ice-slope, up which we were hewing our way with an axe. The sound came nearer and nearer, then came a cloud of snow-dust, and the avalanche rushed past in the ravine by our side. We now continued the ascent of the ice-slope, hoping we might find a road by that way, but were brought up by a great rent in the ice, a yawning chasm of considerable width, with perpendicular walls of solid ice, which effectually put an end to our attempt to cross the pass. We therefore were obliged to return and give up all hopes of reaching the top, —the highest point we reached being just over 17,000 feet. On our way back we saw another avalanche rush down the mountain side and over the very path we had made in ascending, covering up our actual footsteps made in the snow, and very thankful I was when we again reached the open glacier out of the reach of avalanches."

**Vast Mountains and Glaciers.**—Some of the peaks seen here in the main Mustagh or western range reached heights of from 24,000 to 28,000 feet, and gave rise to glaciers on a corresponding scale, one of them many miles in length, and half a mile in width. The Taghdum-Dash Pamir was reached by a comparatively easy pass 14,600 feet high, and here a more open country was found expanding into wider valleys girt with snow mountains but covered with grass. This plateau was swept by a bleak wind which rendered the cold more intolerable than at higher altitudes. On leaving the Tagh-dum-Dash Pamir, the name of which signifies "the supreme head of the mountains," Captain Younghusband entered the Hunza territory and was well received by the chief, Safder Ali Khan, a fair-complexioned man with reddish hair and a European cast of face. Having a few years ago murdered his father, poisoned his mother, and thrown his two brothers over precipices, he described his deeds in the following terms to his suzerain, the Maharajah of Kashmir: "By the grace of God and the decree of fate my father and I fell out. I took the initiative and settled the matter and placed myself on the throne of my ancestors." The grandeur of the scenery here may be judged from the statement that there are in Hunza more peaks over 20,000 feet high than in the Alps over 10,000, while some reach the height of 25,000.

**A Russian Traveller in India.**—An interview at Lahore with the Russian traveller, Prince Galitsin, is reported in the Indian *[No. 2 of Fourth Series.]*

papers. He reached India from Turkestan *via* the Karakorum Pass and Kashmir, and the object of his visit is, as he says, to demonstrate to the people of Russian Turkestan by his own example the friendly relations between England and Russia, showing how a Russian gentleman, travelling without political motive, in his private capacity, and duly authorised by the British representative, is received with all courtesy and kindness. He also desires by a series of letters on India to correct the misunderstanding prevailing as to that country, about which there are only three books in Russian, all giving but an imperfect account of it. The two first, by M. Notovich and M. Bouvalot, deal only with the approach to India from the north, by the Karakorum Pass and the Pamirs respectively, the third by Mdme. Blavatsky, treats entirely of her special subject the Buddhist religion. The people of Russia, said the Prince, know nothing of India, and his purpose is to teach them that it is not a single country like Spain or France, with a common nationality and language, but an aggregate of countries like Europe, containing many different races and tongues. He intends to describe the method of government in India, its finance and army, with the system of education in use, showing how great has been the progress of civilisation under British rule. This, speaking as a Russian patriot, he considers most important for the people of his own country. The successful termination of his journey was in great part due to the friendly assistance he received in critical circumstances from the British Political Department. Having left Turkestan with his attendants and twelve ponies on August 10th, he reached Kashgar on the 28th, Yarkand on September 18th, and crossed the Karakorum Pass on October 1st. Two days after a serious mishap befel him in the desert, during the night, of nine of his ponies, it was supposed, from eating poisonous grasses, and he was much embarrassed as to how he was to continue his journey, until relieved from his difficulties on the following day by the arrival in camp of five Tibetan servants with three yaks, sent by Captain Evans Gordon for his use.

**Travels in Rural Russia.** Mr. Stevens\* is one of those modern travellers who seek to add to the interest of their journey by the adoption of some strange and novel means of locomotion. Having circumambulated the globe on a bicycle, he has now traversed southern Russia from Moscow to the Crimea on a mustang, an animal which was, however, of Hungarian, not Transatlantic origin. His steed figures only to a very limited extent on his pages, which contain instead, very detailed, and seemingly unbiassed

\* *Through Russia on a Mustang.* By Thomas Stevens. London: Cassell, 1891.

accounts of rural Russia. A visit to a village seventy miles from Petersburg enabled him to gain some insight into the working of the much vaunted system of Russian local government. Each little commune is, as all the world knows, autonomous, governing itself on the most approved democratic principles by an elective parliament or "mir." Here is the description given by the blacksmith as spokesman for the community, of the result as regards the burning question of taxation, the great grievance of the land-owning peasantry.

"So the Government taxes you pretty heavily, does it?" asked the author.

"No, no," was the reply. "the government gets but very little of it. If the government knew all that happens to the moujik, it would pity him. The government taxes the mir and the mir taxes the individual. The elders collect the taxes and go off to Novgorod and drink vodka and eat caviar with the Novgorod officials, then come back and demand more taxes. It would be much better for us all if the Czar could sweep away everybody that stands between the Imperial Government and the people, and have no elders, no officers of any kind. The more officials who have the handling of our taxes and the management of our affairs, the worse for us."

"But the mir has the election of its own officers. If the present starosta (mayor) and the elders are dishonest and grasping, why don't you elect honest men like the blacksmith there, in their places?"

"The blacksmith does not know how to read and write (they laughed, how could he be mayor (starosta)? We have tried to remedy matters, but the educated people are too sharp for us; they always manage to keep in office whenever they choose and the wisest moujik keeps his mouth shut closest. The elders assess each one of us the amount of taxes he has to pay, the amount of work to be done on the roads without pay, and have the regulation of everything in the mir. If I am their friend they take care that my share of the taxes shall be light, and my work on the roads easy, and when the Czar demands soldiers they will pass by my son and pick out the son of a moujik who has made himself objectionable to them by grumbling and by voting against them at the elections. There are moujiks in the mir who pay next to no taxes at all, and moujiks who have to work away from home like batraks, besides tilling their land to get money enough to pay the taxes. It is the same in nearly every mir. If every man had a good heart the mirs would be happy and prosperous, the moujiks well fed and clad, and our taxes would be light and easily paid. But every mir is a house of intrigue, in which the moujik is, in one way or another, cheated out of most of his earnings."

Not only taxation, but the administration of justice is in the hands of the elders of the mir, who form peasant courts to try all minor causes, both civil and criminal. In this capacity they are no less partial than in that of tax-gatherers, and the inhabitants would infinitely prefer to have causes tried by an officer of the Imperial Government, a reform which was talked of and anxiously anticipated. *Among the powers of the village parliament is that of sentencing*

to exile to Siberia the persistently worthless members of the community, hopeless drunkards, rogues, or criminals. The Chief of Police of the district, containing a population of about 50,000, told the author that the average number of such convicts sent from that area was five a year, while none were political offenders. It is evident that a formidable engine of local tyranny is here placed at the disposal of the village despots. Sentence of exile does not, however, in the majority of cases entail imprisonment, but merely residence like that of convicts on ticket of leave under a certain amount of police supervision, the exiles being free to live in the towns by their trades or professions, or to cultivate allotments of land as peasant occupiers.

Mr. Stevens, who travelled greater part of the way with a Russian companion, was only on one or two occasions molested by the police, although neither of them had the legal documents authorising their tour. Their adventures included a visit to Nijni Novgorod during the great fair, of which an interesting and detailed description is given.

**The Earthquakes in Japan.** The *Times* of December 8th contains two letters from correspondents in Tokio, giving full details of the terrible shock which convulsed Central Japan on the morning of October 28th. The wave of disturbance traversed thirty-one provinces, an area equal to that of England, over which the earth's crust was violently shaken for ten minutes together, while slighter shocks were felt for a distance of 400 miles to the north, and travelled under the sea to a like distance, making themselves felt in a neighbouring island. In Tokio itself, though 170 miles from the centre of disturbance, it produced an earthquake greater than any felt for nearly forty years, lasting twelve minutes, with a maximum horizontal movement of 2 inches combined with a vertical one of  $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of an inch. Owing, however, to the character of the movement which was a comparatively slow oscillation, the damage was confined to the wrecking of some roofs and chimneys. Very different were its results in the central zone of agitation, as to which the correspondent writes as follows:

There was a noise as of underground artillery, a shock, a second shock, and in less than 30 seconds the Nagoya Gifu Plain, covering an area of 1,200 square miles, became a sea of waves, more than 40,000 houses fell, and 7,000 people lost their lives. The sequence of events was approximately as follows. To commence at Tokio, the capital, which is some 200 miles from the scene of the disaster, on October 28th, at 6.38 a.m., the inhabitants were alarmed by a long gas-swaying of the ground and many sought refuge outside their doors. There were two shocks. For the



ground moved back and forth, swung round and round, and rose and fell with the easy gentle motion of a raft upon an ocean swell. Many became dizzy, and some were seized with nausea.

These indications, together with the movements of the seismographs, denoted a disturbance at a considerable distance, but the first surmise, that it was located under the Pacific Ocean, was unfortunately incorrect. The scene of the catastrophe was indicated only by tidings from its outskirts, as all direct news was cut off by the interruption of railway and telegraphic communication. An exploratory and relief party started on the second day from Tokio, not knowing how far they would be able to proceed by train, and the correspondent who accompanied them describes his experience as follows :—

#### SCENES OF DEVASTATION.

Leaving Tokio by a night train, early next morning we were at Hamamatsu, 137 miles distant from Tokio on the outside edge of the destructive area. Here, although the motion had been sufficiently severe to destroy some small warehouses, to displace the posts supporting the heavy roof of a temple, and to ruffle a few tiles along the eaves of houses, nothing serious had occurred. At one point, owing to the lateral spreading of an embankment there has been a slight sinkage of the line, and we had to proceed with caution. Crossing the entrance to the beautiful lake of Hamana Ko, which tradition says was joined to the sea by the breaking of a sand-spit by the sea waves accompanying the earthquake of 1498, we rise from the rice fields and pass over a country of hill and rock. Further along the line signs of violent movement became more numerous. Huge stone lanterns at the entrance to temples had been rotated or overturned, roofs had lost their tiles, especially along the ridge, sinkages in the line became numerous, and although there was yet another rock barrier between us and the plain of great destruction, it was evident that we were in an area where earth movements had been violent.

The theatre of maximum destruction was a plain dotted with villages and homesteads, supporting, under the garden-like culture of Japan, 500 to 800 inhabitants to the square mile, and containing two cities, Nagoya and Gifu, with populations respectively of 162,000 and 30,000, giving probably a round total of half a million of human beings. Within about twelve miles of the latter, a subsidence on a vast scale is said to have taken place, engulfing a whole range of hills or mountains, while over lesser areas the soil has in many places slipped down, carrying with it dwellings and their inmates. Gifu is a total wreck, devastated by ruin and conflagration, causing the destruction of half its houses. Ogaki, nine miles to the west, has fared worse, for here only 113 out of 4,434 houses remain standing, and a tenth of the population have been killed or wounded. In one temple where service was being

celebrated, the entire congregation except two perished. Nagoya too suffered heavily, and thousands of houses collapsed. The damage here was produced by three violent shocks in quick succession, preceded by a deep booming sound. During the succeeding 206 hours 6,600 earth spasms of greater or less intensity were felt at increasing intervals, occurring in the beginning probably at the rate of one a minute. The inhabitants were driven to bivouac in rude shelters in the streets for a full week at least, but seemed more cheerful than could have been expected in their sad circumstances. Some estimates place the figure of the killed or injured as high as 24,000, whilst at least 300,000 have been rendered homeless.

**A New Industry in Argentina.** The British Consul at Buenos Ayres describes in a Foreign Office report, a new salt industry in the Argentine Republic. The extensive deposits of the mineral existing throughout the country are in most cases too far from a seaport to be profitably worked, but the vast lakes or *salinas* in the Rio Negro Valley are an exception, as they are within 22 miles of the harbour of San Blas. They are four in number, with a salt bearing area of 20,000 acres, the brine being 15ft. below the level of the sea at San Blas. The supply is supposed to be drawn from the mountains of rock salt exposed to the influence of the air at the foot of the Andes over 250 leagues distant. The brine is singularly strong, its density being thirty times that of the sea water at San Blas. The surface of the *salinas* is covered with water supplied by natural springs. The climate is favourable for the production of salt, the rainfall being small, and the sun and strong drying winds soon convert a vast sheet of water into a white expanse of salt from two to three inches thick, beneath which is a bed of salt mixed in nearly equal proportions with sand. The season for its extraction is from November to March, when it is gathered into small heaps and then piled in larger ones on the adjoining banks to await its removal on shipboard. A company has recently been formed under a concession from the province of Buenos Ayres to work these *salinas*, and is now bringing into the market large supplies of salt, suitable both for manufacturing and for household purposes. The quantity can be indefinitely increased with enlarged appliances, and the proprietors hope soon to be able to supply Uruguay and Brazil as well as the Argentine Republic. About 2,000 tons of English salt are now imported during the year, paying an import duty of 25 per cent on the value. The proportion of

property is to exist in this new Utopia, the members of which are to enjoy absolute freedom, and hold all real property in common, while each is to live by the fruits of his individual labour. The site chosen is described as an earthly paradise, with a sufficiently easy route by the river Tana, which is navigable for 300 kilometres, leaving a further journey of only 200 to the colony. Some 28 associations, counting 1,000 members are disposed to throw in their lot with the enterprise, whose promoters have already secured a capital of £2,000, the gift of one enthusiastic supporter. The necessary territory has been acquired, and two pioneer members are engaged on a voyage of investigation, on the result of which future arrangements will depend. Though the members are mainly Germans, they are most anxious to secure the support of the English as the great colonising nation, without whose participation nothing can be done.

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## Notes on Novels.

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**Freville Chase.** By E. H. DERING. 2 vols.; second edition.  
Art and Book Company, Leamington.

**The Lady of Ravenscombe.** By E. H. DERING. 2 vols.  
Art and Book Company, Leamington.

THE Leamington Art and Book Company have done well to re-publish Mr. Dering's admirable tales, "Freville Chase" and "The Lady of Ravenscombe," the latter of which made its first appearance in the pages of *The Month*. We cordially hope that both books may meet with the welcome which they deserve. Mr. Dering's novels are didactic in the best and highest sense of the word. He does not write for the flippant or the frivolous: he expects from his reader just a little patience, some power of sustained attention, and a serious view of the issues of life; but, whoever will respond to these very moderate and reasonable demands will be well repaid. To a sound philosophical system, derived from a close study of St. Thomas, Mr. Dering unites a shrewd practical knowledge of human nature, and shows on every page a keen insight into the motives and impulses, the convictions and delusions, which work together with external circumstances in shaping the lives and the actions of men. With a very singular power of depicting to the life characters of ideal nobleness, and of

tracing as far as it is given to man to trace the workings of divine grace and the growth of faith in the souls of men and women of very diverse characters, he combines a hardly less remarkable faculty for dissecting and laying bare the psychological anatomy of many various forms of weakness, meanness, and selfishness. He is not content to show us his heroes acting heroically on critical occasions, but is careful to exhibit the gradual process of self-mastery, stimulated and aided by grace, by which alone a man attains a habit of heroic virtue truly so called. And not less instructive is his presentment of the various stages on the down-grade of self-seeking compromise by which men sink to the low levels of contemptible moral mediocrity or of malicious treachery. The reader is, or should be, distinctly the better for the hours spent in the company of Eyraud and Hubert Freville, of Father Merivale, with his sound good sense and solid unassuming piety, of Sir Roger Arden with his horror of rash judgments, uncharitable conversation, and of abstract principles, and of Mrs. Atherstone with her unobtrusive, unwearied well-doing, while on the other hand, the author's graphic picture of the weak worldliness and compromising Christianity of that "genealogical Catholic," Sir Richard Dytchley, and of the unlimited self-concentration and self-delusion issuing in a terrible power of mischief making, and in the most odious double-dealing—as displayed by his more masterful spouse, are, at least, as instructive as they are entertaining. The characters of Ida and Elfrida, embodying just so much of inherited weakness as to entail on themselves and on others much unhappiness and suffering, without forfeiting the reader's sympathy or their own ultimate welfare, are powerfully drawn; and the picture is skilfully filled in with the minor yet strongly individualized personalties of Dr. Ranson, Mrs. Roland, the short-sighted, red-whiskered gentleman, whose name no one can remember, the landlady of the White Hart Hotel at Lynnham, and others. It may possibly be doubted whether the wicked Marquis—who, however, is penitent at the last—his rascally and ubiquitous servant, and the mysterious, somewhat tiresome "woman of the middling countenance," are quite so true to nature as the more uniable personages who occupy the stage in "*Freville Chase*," but if this be so, Mr. Deering may be pardoned for having been less successful in sounding the depths of villainy than in setting before his readers high ideals of life and action, and in infusing those broad principles of practical theology, of sound philosophy, and (be it added) of good breeding, of which he has made his novels the very agreeable vehicle.



## NOTES ON NOVELS.

We have spoken of "Freville Chase" as being instructive, and, indeed, the didactic purpose of the author is all but openly avowed throughout; but the dramatic interest is well maintained and at times rises to intensity; while for genuine pathos we know of hardly a passage in the literature of fiction which can surpass some of the closing pages of "Freville Chase." A literary critic would perhaps take exception to a certain unnecessary minuteness of detail here and there, in the report of lengthened conversations of which it might have been sufficient to sketch the outline and indicate the issue. And it may perhaps be allowable to dissent in some degree from Mr. Dering's somewhat indiscriminate dislike as it seems to us—of "modern" men and things. It is surely a part of true wisdom to recognise the great capabilities for good of the age in which we live, and, in a right sense, to respect the temper of the time. But the reader who has learned from Everard Freville and good old Sir Roger the valuable lesson of large-minded tolerance will see even in these blemishes if blemishes they be—nothing worse than a slight exaggeration of those excellent qualities of thoroughness, conscientiousness, and earnestness of purpose, combined with a deep reverence for all that is noble in the traditions of the past, which characterise all Mr. Dering's work, and which give it its chief value.

We cannot do better, in conclusion, than quote some weighty words, written to the author by the late Venerable Archbishop Ullathorne :—

What I like in your way of putting points, as well to the Catholic as to the non-Catholic mind, is the clear sharp ring of the spirit of Faith. *Ex imo pectore*. There is not a single quaver of human respect to enfeeble, in the least degree, the conviction in the mind of the reader, that the man who thus speaks, speaks what his soul most clearly sees. The story turns on two points, to which it serves as the framework—the principle of Faith and the principle of mixed marriages. The principle of Faith is put clearly, pointedly, and trenchantly. It is cleared of all lumber, and then shines by its own light. The mischief of mixed marriages is worked out through the story, and comes up with a number of unpleasant faces, repulsive as they are unpleasant. The shallow weakness of half Catholicity is brought out by the contrast with the utter worldliness with which it is linked and under which it succumbs. There are many tones and hints through the book of characters and manners, which bespeak a close observation of human life and ways. It is strong from its sharp incisiveness. It is no book, however, and consequently, for sentimentalists; nor for those who like something soft to weep over and then forget.

Of "The Lady of Ravenscombe" we have left ourselves no room to say more than that it forms a fitting sequel to "Freville Chase," to several of whose *dramatis personæ* it again pleasantly and profitably introduces the reader.

**An Imperative Duty.** By W. D. HOWELLS. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1892.

THE duty which weighs so heavily on the conscience of Mrs. Meredith is one likely to appeal more forcibly to the American than to the European standard of honour. This lady appears on the scene as the guardian and sole relative of a young and lovely niece, and is introduced to the reader in an hotel at Boston where she has just arrived from Europe, as the patient of a Dr. Olney, staying there under similar circumstances. He quickly discovers that he is called upon to "minister to a mind diseased," and ends by being made the confidant of the lady's mysterious trouble. The latter resolves itself into the dilemma in which she finds herself placed by the probability of her niece's marriage, involving the necessity of imparting to her or to her suitor or both, the crushing fact that despite her beauty and grace, her distinction of air, and purity, if not fairness of skin, she has in her veins the dark taint of negro blood. Her father, a physician practising in New Orleans, had married there a beautiful octoroon, and had on his death left his little girl to be brought up by his sister. The cruel kindness of keeping the child in ignorance of her origin has now to be expiated by the necessity of imparting it to her at an age when it comes as a terrible revelation, with the result of utterly estranging the girl from her aunt and driving her into a state of mind bordering on insanity. Her first impulse is to rush into the street and seek the quarter of the humble coloured people that she may accustom herself to the horror of feeling her kinship with them, and the additional revulsion of feeling with which she regards them under these circumstances is powerfully realised. She returns to the hotel to find her aunt dying of the effects of an overdose of her sleeping draught, and thus goes through a second crisis in her fate, ere she has had time to realise the first. The *Dens et machina* is found in Dr. Olney, who has by this time fallen so thoroughly in love with her as to be willing to marry her with all her imperfections on her head.

**Where Town and Country meet.** By MRS. ALFRED BALDWIN. London: Longmans. 1891.

THE story of King Cophetua and the Beggar's Daughter is one that never fails to charm, no matter in what variety of fashions and how often told. The lordly wooer of the present volume is, indeed, but a prosperous farmer, whose notice of the

indigent girl among the throng of hop-pickers in his fields, seems to her almost as wonderful a condescension as that of the royal suitor to the beggar maiden of the ballad. Roger Applegarth, though embittered by a previous love-betrayal, the girl he was engaged to having eloped with another man on the eve of the wedding, has not lost the power of feeling or inspiring attachment in the seven years since spent in solitary seclusion. A remnant of the old bitterness shows itself, however, in his second wooing, in the tests to which he subjects the maiden of his choice before she knows that it has fallen upon her. He slips a sovereign among the silver pieces in which her wages are paid, in order to try if her honesty will withstand the temptation to keep it under the stress of her extreme poverty. Needless to say she comes out of the ordeal triumphantly, and is rewarded in a way she little expects. Her circumstances render the struggle of principle a specially severe one, as she is but a dressmaker on the verge of starvation, burdened with the charge of a little blind sister, to assist whose recovery from severe illness by the help of country air, unattainable in any other way, she has joined the rough and rowdy company of hop-pickers on their annual outing. The description of the latter, with its gipsy gaiety, pleasurable open-air occupation, and attendant drawbacks of very mixed company and manners, is vividly pictured in the experiences of Mary Gravenall and her helpless sister Ruth. All the figures in the rural drama are graphically outlined, and the character of Farmer Applegarth himself, with its strong capabilities both of resentment and tenderness, is thoroughly representative of the best features of that of the British yeoman. The volume serves to show that the power of investing a simple theme with the interest due to grace of narration is not yet lost to English literature.

**My Danish Sweetheart.** By W. CLARK RUSSELL. London: Methuen. 1891.

**T**HIS romance of the sea is as full of strange and romantic adventure as any previous work of the author's, and none of his habitual readers can complain that they have been cheated in it of any of the thrilling emotions he is accustomed to rouse in their breasts. Never indeed was a wooing conducted under circumstances of more harrowing peril and disaster than that of the fair-haired Dane, Helga Nielsen, by her Cornish *preux chevalier*, Hugh Tregarthen. From the moment when he sets foot on her father's ship out of the

lifeboat in which he had come to rescue her crew, all imaginable perils of the sea thicken over the heads of the devoted couple, and each apparent deliverance only leaves them in a situation of greater perplexity than the last. Rescued from the open raft which has been the scene of the death of the girl's father, they find themselves on board a scarcely more seaworthy craft, a half-decked Deal lugger, in charge of three seamen, who have undertaken the hopeful enterprise of navigating her to Australia. When picked up off this cockle-shell, which is naturally rendered helpless by the first gale, and sheltered in comparative safety in a roomy barque bound to the Cape of Good Hope, we might fairly conclude the worst perils of their voyage over, but here a fresh embarrassment, and later on a more terrible experience await them. As soon, indeed, as we find ourselves confronted with a crew of Malays, and a Captain whose fanatical piety takes the form of compelling them to dine on pork or not at all, we know that nothing less than murder and mutiny can come of such a conjunction. The inevitable catastrophe leaves the hero and heroine alive, but practically prisoners in the hands of the half-savage mutineers, and the drama heightens in interest with the antagonism of the two parties in the ship, and the successive attempts of each to outwit the other. The narration of these adventures leaves little space for those descriptive passages in which the author's fancy generally finds such free play, and we have more of the human and less of the meteorological element than in his other works.

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**Blanche, Lady Falaise.** By J. C. SHORTHOUSE. London: Macmillan. 1891.

THE adage as to the facility with which hearts are caught in the rebound, is amply exemplified in fiction since the love-lorn heroine is never so ready to marry the first eligible man who asks her, as when most dismally blighted in a previous attachment. The protagonist of Mr. Shorthouse's tale is a fresh addition to the ranks of those ladies who show their constancy to their first lovers by making things generally uncomfortable after a prosperous and otherwise happy marriage. Lady Falaise is indeed throughout her career distinguished by a rare perversity of mind, since she begins by throwing away the goods the gods have provided and rejecting an offer of marriage from her father's pupil, a young man boasting *incalculable* length of ancestry, an *illimitable* rent-roll, and personal charms which would have eclipsed those of Autinous. This from



the daughter of a country rector who ekes out his income by coaching for the universities, is rather too bad, but it is made worse by her engaging herself to a fashionable preacher, who jilts her for a richer and better-connected bride on the first convenient opportunity. Here Lord Falaise, previously rejected, gallantly steps into the breach, and bestows on her all the worldly goods we have already enumerated. In his wooing, he has indeed put them forward a little too undisguisedly, as he urges her to marry him telling her that he is "the premier viscount in England," whose ancestors might have been "earls or anything," and that lots of girls would have been glad to marry him. In this latter asseveration his Lordship was no doubt perfectly right, but it might have been better taste to omit it from his argument.

Blanche, however, though accepting these alleviations of her lot, is too high-toned and lofty-souled to find consolation in them, and plays perhaps the most provoking of all parts, that of the lugubriously dutiful wife, perennially mourning her perfidious preacher. The latter turns out badly enough to have disenchanted a more commonplace personage, as he not only falls into the habit of drinking port wine to excess, but incurs the penalty of the law for forging a cheque. The day he comes out of prison, Blanche, who is by that time partly or wholly insane, is mercifully disposed of by a well-directed stroke of lightning in the Tyrol, and her death, intended in some mystical sense as an expiation for his crimes, is simultaneous with his conversion. The conclusion is somewhat lame and impotent, and the interest of the story is entirely due to the author's well-known grace of style. It is marred, too, by a fault in construction, the principal events being summarised in the prologue, before their subsequent narration in detail. The most sympathetic character is that of the old rector, Blanche's father, whose simple tenderness is contrasted with the pretentious speciousness of her lover.

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**One Reason Why.** By BEATRICE WHITBY. London: Hurst and Blackett. 1892.

**T**HE favourable impression created by "The Awakening of Mary Fenwick" has not been falsified by the author's present work. Its interest, too, is the legitimate one founded on the power of delineating character and does not depend on the exaggerated effects of melodramatic sensation. The devices of the transpontine drama are by this time thoroughly used up in fiction, and the

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public, weary of the cheap imitations of the leaders of the school, are ready to revert once more to the forms of arts prescribed by the older canons of taste. On this ground "One Reason Why" deserves to be received with favour, despite the drawback of a slightly commonplace plot. The latter turning on the threadbare situation of a governess, fallen in love with by the eldest son of her employer, is redeemed from insipidity by the loftiness and dignity of the character of the heroine, Ursula, or "Isla" Nugent. The hero, Luttrell Wollaston, though immeasurably her inferior in moral worth, has the saving merit of appreciating her, and of thus developing a depth of feeling in his attachment to her that in one sense raises him to her level. The repelling coldness assumed as the defensive armour of her pride, exercises an attractive power over him stronger at first than the arts of the most refined coquetry, but eventually angers him to the extent of driving him into an engagement to another, and thus creating a complication of obstacles to be vanquished before their eventual union becomes possible. The way is smoothed by the tragical death of Luttrell's young step-mother, and the inconstancy of her mercenary betrothed in forsaking him for a suitor of higher rank. There is a delightful pair of children, "Bay" and "Ellie," short for Eldora, whose quaint ways and doings are fascinating to the reader. The secondary characters are all distinctively drawn, and the picture of the Le Terrier family, with their slipshod household, and undisciplined struggle for existence, is full of humorous vitality.

## Notes on Foreign Periodicals.

NOTES ON GERMAN PERIODICALS, BY CANON BELLESHEIM,  
OF AACHEN.

"**Katholik.**" The first issue of 1872 opens with a very instructive article contributed by Father Schepers, of the Redemptorist Fathers of Vaals, near Aachen, on the last fifty years of English Catholicism. He is very successful in tracing the general history of the Church in the United Kingdom from the Act of Emancipation, and further in delineating several leading persons who, in their conversion to the faith of our fathers, startled the great public, and led many other pious Anglicans to take the same step. We regret to

say that the clever author of this series of articles, well worthy of perusal, has since been carried off by a premature death. As we are living in an eminently historical age we need not be astonished, that, owing to unwearied historical researches, not a few champions of the Catholic faith in the period of the so-called reformation are being dragged from oblivion and put in their proper place. Amongst them let us bring into prominence John Fabri, O.P., of Heilbronn, whose life and various writings are interestingly described in the "Katholik" by Abbe Paulus, a priest and extremely gifted historical scholar belonging to the Diocese of Strassburg, but residing in Munich. The inexhaustible treasures of history, of which the Hof und Staatsbibliothek of Munich is justly proud, have enabled him to perform his work in such a way as to earn for him general admiration. In these pithy articles he devotes himself to pointing out not only the missionary work of Fabri, but also his literary accomplishments and manifold writings so well adapted to the peculiar wants of German Catholics on those troubled times. Let us mention above all his catechism and booklets of preparation for confession, and his masterly work on the primacy of St. Peter. Of course, these and other works of Catholics intended to check the floods of the Reformation were carefully destroyed, and it is not seldom that we meet with a case of their being preserved in a single copy. All the more deserved is the praise due to the untiring exertions of those scholars who are bent on unearthing these precious treasures. Professor Weber, of Hamberg, is contributing a series of articles on my history of the Catholic Church of Ireland. The much agitated question of readmitting the Society of Jesus into Germany affords a welcome motive to a very clever writer for sketching, in an extremely well written article, the merits of the German Jesuit Fathers in the several departments of science. Here we may only urge on the attention of scholars their *Collectio Conciliorum recentiorum*, then *Philosophia Læcensis*, and the critical commentary of the whole Bible now in the press in Paris. Lastly we may mention an instructive notice of Dr. Baumker's third volume on the German ecclesiastical hymns. This work, the result of laborious investigations and great critical acumen, calls for the study of all scholars who desire to write upon the history of the German people.

**"Historisch-politische Blaetter."** In the January issue I wrote a long review of F. Cathrein's, J.S., momentous work "Moral Philosophie" (Freiburg, Herder). These two bulky volumes are really an event in our theological literature and a most powerful vindication of Christianity and Catholicism against those subtle

attacks of modern systems which we have to face in almost every country. F. Cathrein's familiarity with English literature and the destructive moral principles of Bentham, Mill and Spencer, and others, is really admirable and well worthy of the attention of English scholars. Several years ago the same author presented us with a scholarly critique of Herbert Spencer's *Ethics*. If proof were needed, the works of Cathrein afford it abundantly for the absolute necessity of the revival of the scholastic philosophy. In it we are provided with the only means for successfully combating modern errors. Mediæval folk-lore has been thoroughly treated for many years by Dr. Falk. To the January issue he contributes a learned treatise on the care bestowed by the Catholic Church during the middle ages on the catechetical instruction of the people. Noteworthy are the explanations of the Ten Commandments as published on fly leaves. Some of the best specimens are now a days in the possession of the British Museum. Those leaves, commonly adorned by excellent woodcuts, mark, too, an epoch in the development of Christian art. The more the literary treasures bequeathed to us by our forefathers are unearthed, the better we perceive the utter falsehood of so many charges which the reformers made against the Church. Not a few English Catholics who, in the time of King Louis I., lived in Munich may have become acquainted with Professor von Ringseis, one of the most celebrated medical men, and a strong champion of Catholic interests. His gifted daughter has just brought out the concluding volume of his memoirs, which throw new light on the prominent persons of that period. In the February issue we meet with an article which must impress us with sorrow and grief. "Are German Universities still pervaded by a Christian spirit?" The most deplorable fact cannot be denied that a current of thought totally at variance, not only with Catholicism, but with any Christian creed whatever, is more and more on the increase. The article brings into prominence the incontestable fact that the tenets adopted by social democrats in some shape or other are professed by not a few teachers in our academies.

**"Stimmen aus Maria Laach."** For two thoughtful articles on the Columbus Centenary we are indebted to F. Perger. The result of his studies is that Columbus set himself to become a Christophorus, a bearer of Christ, whose spiritual kingdom he strove to extend in the new world. F. Zimmermann is tracing the history of Dr. Tait before he became a bishop and Metropolitan. F. Beissel describes the development of religious painting in Germany in recent times. Pascal's character is masterfully described in several articles



contributed by F. Kreiten, to whom we are under special debt for his excellent critical biographies of Molière and Voltaire.

**"Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie (Innsbruck)."**--This very able periodical contains the concluding article on Professor Doellinger, contributed by F. Michael. We become acquainted with the views which Doellinger took of Old-Catholicism and his exertions towards establishing a communion between the several non-Catholic bodies of various countries. That he utterly failed in these enterprises is as widely known as his ever-increasing hostility against the Church of which for many years he was a splendid ornament. For England this article should be brimful of interest, since F. Michael accurately describes Doellinger's intercourse with the then leaders of the Anglican Church. F. Felchlin argues on the difference between essence and existence, as established by St. Thomas, whilst Professor Schmid enlarges on the moot point whether or not the consecration of both species belongs to the essence of the sacrifice of the Mass. A wide interest attaches to F. Dreves's solid critique of "*Les Poèmes latins attribués à Saint Bernard, par B. Haureau.*" F. Dreves, who ranks foremost as a scholar in mediæval poetry, declares the result of his studies to be that only two hymns may be traced to the authorship of St. Bernard, viz., the hymn on St. Victor (Migne, P.L. vol. 183 vol. F.F. 5) and the hymn on St. Malachy, Archbishop of Armagh.

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## Notices of Books.

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**Succat.** The story of Sixty Years of the life of St. Patrick. By Monsignor GRADWELL. London: Burns and Oates.

THE opening lines in chap. v., p. 134., give us the key to Monsignor Gradwell's book on the early life of St. Patrick. He says, "the reader who has kindly perused the previous chapters must have sympathised with me that I had to deal with such scanty materials, and perhaps may have set slight value upon the narrative as being drawn more from the imagination than from real historical sources. I must confess the actual facts have been few. Yet they *were* facts." The author tells us plainly that the local colouring of the history is his own creation, and therefore his work so far is not purely

historical. This filling in lends a vividness to the narrative, and can do no harm when the avowal of its origin is expressly made. The history is founded, however, on a substratum of solid fact, as Monsignor Gradwell has skilfully interwoven into his book every scrap of knowledge that we possess regarding St. Patrick's life before he commenced his great missionary career. It would add to the undoubted value of the work if Monsignor Gradwell gave us in the next edition a list of his authorities for his more important facts, with the exact references in an extra appendix. For instance, to select one out of many such, the captivity and marriage of Conchessa, St. Patrick's mother, are facts relating to St. Patrick of which we should wish to know the exact historical value. The authority for statements similar to this would be a great boon.

In a few minor incidents conclusions are drawn of wider extent than the facts permit, but all the main outlines are strictly and historically accurate.

Monsignor Gradwell's book is an excellent one to place in the hands of grown boys and girls. Without at all derogating from its genuine worth for readers of mature ages, we think it admirably suited to the young. An Irish boy just leaving school, with all the Celtic poetry of his nature, cannot but be impressed with the fascinating portrait of the Apostle of his race as sketched by Monsignor Gradwell. St. Patrick's dauntless heroism in never shirking difficulty or danger, the gentle winning tenderness of that great fiery heart, are such as to appeal with special force to the romantic chivalrous character of an Irish boy. Neither Bayard nor Sir Tristram were as much to the young squire of mediæval chivalry who sought to win knightly spurs, as St. Patrick is to the boys of modern Ireland. St. Patrick is for them an epitome of all that is noblest, highest and best. His name is the rallying word of their fatherland and their faith. It is a symbol of fidelity which even death cannot conquer. The little they know of the history of their own country excites mixed feelings in their breast—sorrow for so many reverses in the past, and at the same time a proud exultation at the undying vitality of their faith—pure to-day as when St. Patrick preached it at the command of Celestine, and to-day, as it always has been, unconquered and unconquerable.

The want of minute technical historical authority for each individual statement in Monsignor Gradwell's book is amply compensated by the glowing living portrait of the hero and the saint which is there given us. This leads us to speak of another excellent quality of the book, namely, the current of strong fervent piety which

runs through its pages, and all the better and stronger for not being so prominently set forth. The book we are certain will be a favourite with ecclesiastical students. It supplies them too with that modicum of the ecclesiastical history of the period which will help to widen their views regarding St. Patrick and his work.

With the historical groundwork of the book we can have no quarrel. It is exact in every particular. The birth of St. Patrick in Strathclyde, his captivity at the age of sixteen, his visit to St. Martin, and his ecclesiastical training at Lerins and under St. Germain are all duly set forth. The proofs advanced by Monsignor Gradwell for St. Patrick's visit to various parts of England previous to the commencement of his Irish mission will challenge criticism. They are the best procurable, as the evidence itself is scanty, and we have no other. The reader will judge for himself what weight must be attached to them. The appendix on the question of St. Patrick's birth-place is very valuable. The paper, type, and binding are excellent. We recommend the book most strongly.

P.L.

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**Notre Seigneur Jesus Christ, sa vie and ses enseignements.**

Par M. L'Abbé S. E. Fretté, du clergé de Paris. Paris : P. Lethielleux, 10, Rue Cassette, 1892.

**S**TILL another life of Our Lord from a French pen ! It is a good sign to find so many of them ; it shows that there is a demand in France for wholesome reading. The Abbé S. E. Fretté divides this new life into three books, which fill over two bulky imperial octavo volumes. The first book treats of Our Lady and of the infancy of Our Lord ; in addition it has some well written chapters on the state of parties in Judæa, on the topography of the Holy City, on the priests and on the synagogues. The Pharisees are, it seems, to us particularly well described.

The second book treats of the Public Life of Our Lord up to the Passion. The third book is occupied with the Passion, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension, and closes with an estimate of the human character of Jesus Christ.

The author spends no time on the discussion of the exact date of Our Lord's birth. He does not notice the controversy as to the time of the adoration of the Magi, and makes no allusion to a journey on the part of the Holy Family to Nazareth immediately after the Presentation. Perhaps he thinks that, with hour of Our

Lord, narration is more profitable than discussion if the latter can be avoided. We have found these two volumes very pleasant and instructive reading. They help to give a reality and vividness to situations, phrases, and actions which fail to impress their fullest meaning on the ordinary reader as they stand in the New Testament. For this they need to be thrown over into greater prominence by the filling in of their appropriate background, to be emphasized by local colouring and illustrative explanation. This has been very efficiently done by the running commentary of allusion to the natural scenery, the history, the customs of the country and the people. The result is that we have a work eminently calculated to help in the composing of a sermon, or in the spending of an hour in holy and interesting reading.

The author appears to have been very happy in the manner in which he has unravelled the appearances of the Maries at the tomb on the morning of the Resurrection.

A few misprints appear to have escaped the lynx eye of the proof reader, e.g., naissance for mort, l., page 58, and Jerusalem for some other place, page 77. No doubt such slight blemishes will disappear in a second edition, which we hope may be soon called for. A good map of Palestine, and an excellent one of the Sea of Galilee accompany the first volume; another showing the journeying of Our Lord is attached to the second volume, as well as a plan of Jerusalem.

J.R.

**O Roma nobilis.** Philologische Untersuchungen aus dem Mittelalter von LUDWIG TRAUBE. München, 1891.

THIS collection of able philological treatises forms part of the transactions of the Royal Academy of Munich. Excellent as appears to be the first essay on the time honoured hymn, "O Roma nobilis," which, according to Dr. Traube, originated in northern Italy, and probably in Verona, between the ninth and eleventh century, we lay no special stress on it at present. But what in a high degree calls for our admiration is Traube's investigations into the merits of mediæval Irishmen in Germany in the department of philology. Whether his theory of not less than four Dungal's will weather the storm of criticism, seems to me doubtful. But the laboriously collected notices on Sedubus Scottas are a decided success. Many notices, which have escaped the attention of even Irish scholars, are brought together and critically sifted by our author. He



establishes by solid reasons that Sedulius is the author of Codex C. 14 in the library of the hospital of Cues (between Coblenz and Treves), which may be styled a store-house for mediæval philology.

BELLESHEIM.

**The Lord of Humanity, or the Testimony of Human Consciousness, with Supplement on the Mystery of Suffering.**

By FREDERICK JAMES GANT, F.R.C.S. Second Edition. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1891.

THIS book is written with the best possible intentions, and evidently much thought and study has been expended upon it. But it labours under the double defect of being the work of an amateur theologian, and further of one who is on many points the victim of the Protestant tradition. Dr. Gant probably knows nothing of the rich mine of learning to be found in the literature of the Catholic schools of theology on the subjects of the Sacred Humanity and the Divine Personality of our Blessed Lord. He writes as if he were a pioneer, and makes no use of the labours of his predecessors. In all sciences such a procedure gives very unsatisfactory results, and theology is no exception to the rule.

**The Life of Father Hecker.**—By the Rev. WALTER ELLIOTT.  
New York: The Columbus Press, 1891.

THE interesting life of Father Hecker, which has been appearing for some months in the *New York Catholic World*, is here reprinted in a handsome volume, which deserves a place in every Catholic library, in the section devoted to lives of the men who have done good work for the Church in our day.

The son of a family of German origin settled in New York, Father Hecker was a thorough American and a thorough man of his age. Born a Protestant, he was led, after much wandering in search of truth, into the bosom of the Catholic Church. From the day of his conversion he thought chiefly of how he could influence others of his countrymen to take the same step, and above all he was busy with the work of smoothing the way to the Church for educated, intellectual men. He joined the Redemptorist congregation, but his life work did not lie there. Separated from them by a crisis, which, while it freed him from his obedience to the order, did not break the ties of affection he always felt for it, he founded the

Paulist congregation in New York, on lines which he believed to be specially adapted for the needs of the United States. But this was only one of his good works. He did more than any other individual in the States to develop and raise the level of Catholic literature in America. To quote the words of his biographer

"He believed in types as he believed in pulpits. He believed that the printing office was necessary to the convent. To him the Apostolate of the Press meant the largest amount of truth to the greatest number of people. By its means a small band of powerful men could reach an entire nation, and elevate its religious life."

At times his way of expressing his opinions laid him open to adverse criticism, but all he wrote and spoke had a sound sense, and there was never a more thoroughly loyal son of the Church. Unlike some short-sighted doubters, he rejoined heartily in the Vatican definitions as strengthening the position of the Church for her battle with her enemies, and preparing the way for new triumphs. Not the least interesting of the many fragments of Father Hecker's writings, which have found their way into print for the first time in the volume before us, is a memorandum, in which, shortly before the Council, he summed up for his own guidance the principles which he thought ought to be the rule of conduct for a Catholic writer. They are well worth quoting here. Observe how he speaks of himself very unceremoniously in the third person :

1. Absolute and unswerving loyalty to the authority of the Church, wherever and however expressed, as God's authority upon earth and for all time.

2. To seek in the same dispositions the true spirit of the Church, and to be unreservedly governed by it as the wisdom of the Most High.

3. To keep my mind and heart free from all attachments to schools, parties or persons within the Church. Hecker included, so that nothing within me may hinder the light and direction of the Holy Spirit.

4. In case any conflict arises concerning what Hecker may have spoken or written, or any work or movement in which he may be engaged, to re-examine. If wrong, make him retract at once. If not, then ask, Is the question of that importance that it requires defence and the upsetting of attacks? If not of this importance, then not to delay and perhaps jeopardise the progress of other works, and condemn Hecker to simple silence.

5. In the midst of the imperfections, abuses, scandals, etc., of the human side of the Church, never to allow myself to think or to express a word which might seem to place a truth of the Catholic faith in doubt or to savor of the spirit of disobedience.

6. With all this in view, to be the most earnest and ardent friend of all true progress, and to work with all my might for its promotion through existing organizations and authorities.

Much of Father Hecker's character is revealed in these rules. Not the least testimony to his worth is contained in the words which Cardinal Newman wrote on hearing of his death. "I have ever felt that there was this sort of unity in our lives—that we had both begun a work of the same kind, he in America, and I in England, and I know how zealous he was in promoting it."

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**Die christlichen Inschriften der Rheinlande. Zweiter Theil.**

Von Professor F. X. KRAUS. Freiburg, Mohr., 1892.

THE first part of this standard work was noticed in the DUBLIN REVIEW, October, 1891, (p. 486). To the unwearied labour of its gifted author we are now indebted for the first instalment of the second part, which reaches from the middle of the eighth to the middle of the thirteenth century. In the part before us, we find duly collected the Christian inscriptions still in existence in the ancient dioceses of Chur, Basel, Constance, Strasbourg, Spire, Worms, Mainz, and Metz. The work is done with all that critical accuracy and eminent historical and, above all, archaeological learning for which Professor Kraus enjoys a special reputation. Not a few precious inscriptions which otherwise would have been lost are now, through our author's activity, duly preserved and made accessible to students of archæology. Inscriptions of every kind are here presented. Besides those on graves and sarcophagi, we meet with inscriptions of the most interesting shape on church doors and ecclesiastical vestments. The author is to be sincerely congratulated for having enriched his works by very large photographs exhibiting not a few pictures of embroideries belonging to the far-famed Convent of St. Blase. English and Irish scholars will find a wide field of discussion opened out by the inscriptions on S. Gall (p. 10). It is much to be deplored that so many churches where, in the seventh and eighth centuries, Irish missionaries laboured have preserved so few traces of them down to the period discussed in this volume. Let me mention inscriptions on S. Firmin (p. 61) and S. Dizibodus (p. 132), both of them, as is generally admitted, Irishmen, but whose origin in the inscription is not touched on even by a single word. Mainz has supplied many inscriptions on her celebrated bishops. Next to her come Spire, with the tombs of the German Emperors, and Metz, where so many members of Charlemagne's family were laid to their eternal rest. Let us hope that the laborious author will ere long issue the concluding part, which is to supply the preface and a solid *commentary on the vast contents.*

BRANFORD.

**Rituale Romanum Cui novissima accedit Benedictionum et Instructionum Appendix.** Editio tertia post typicam Ratisbonæ, Pustet, 1892

THE indefatigable proprietor of this large liturgical printing establishment presents us at the beginning of 1892 with a splendid edition of the Roman Ritual. The form is large octavo, with excellent type and strong paper. What is principally to be noted is the exceedingly well executed woodcuts, which remind us of the best patterns of Christian art in this department. The "get up" and printing may successfully rival any works produced in times gone by at the Plantin Press in Antwerp. Besides, this sumptuous edition is enriched by (1), the Appendix to the Roman Ritual, specially approved of by the Holy See, (2), the Roman *Instruction*, giving directions to such priests as are provided with papal faculties for blessing rosaries and pictures, and (3), the *Benedictiones Novissimæ*. The English clergy will meet on page 138 a benediction indulged by the Holy See for the Archdiocese of Cologne for "blessing the water of St. Willibrord, that great Englishman of the eighth century, who so successfully laboured as a missionary and bishop in our country." The price is comparatively moderate. B.

**The Lord's Supper and the Passover Ritual;** being a Translation of the substance of Prof. Bickell's "Messe und Pascha." By W. F. SKENE, D.C.L. With an Introduction by the Translator on the connection of the Early Christian with the Jewish Church (Price 5s.) Edinburgh T & T Clark 1891

THE rather long title of this book sufficiently describes its contents. Prof. Bickell's work has been so fully analysed by the present writer in a former number (October, 1889) of this Review, as to make further notice unnecessary. It will be enough to call the attention of all engaged in liturgical studies to the translation of this indispensable work. By undertaking it, Dr. Skene has earned the gratitude of all to whom German is a difficulty. It is however needful to warn such readers that the most interesting and important of the "Dogmatic Conclusions" drawn by Dr. Bickell are omitted by his translator, apparently because they are not in accord with his own theological views. Whether such a suppression is just to Dr. Bickell, we must leave to him for decision; it is certainly not fair to his English readers. Dr. Skene's own contribution to the volume contains matter of interest, but also much that would prob-



ably have been altered on reconsideration—such as the paradoxical view that the seven deacons first appointed were presbyters. The most valuable parts are those derived from Probst's great work "Liturgie," though here again the reader must not suppose that Dr Skene gives any idea of the work which he professes to have followed.

**Texts and Studies, contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature.** Vol. I., No. 1. The Apology of Aristides, edited and translated by J. RENDAL HARRIS, M.A., with an appendix by J. Armitage Robinson, M.A. Cambridge: University Press, 1891.

THE Christian Apologists of the second century give the answer to the challenge to Christianity conveyed in Pliny the Younger's despatch to Trajan. The Catholic Faith began now to shine, not only by its own light, but in the herce glare of gathering and deliberate persecution. The persecutions of the first century had arisen either on accidental issues like that of Nero, or on personal grounds rather than of policy, like that of Domitian. But in the second century the empire became conscious of a drain on its moral and religious forces, and of a camp of deserters from the dethroned majesty of Cæsar set up everywhere, of an asylum of renegades from the Capitoline Jove and the Palatine Apollo, opened everywhere within its limits. Against these dangerous symptoms to the internal tranquility of the empire the forces of policy began to organise themselves. That empire found itself confronted by a society whose numbers made it formidable, but the genius and spirit of whose writers were soon to develop the power of reason reinforcing Faith in the Apologists. We have before us the apology of Aristides now complete from a newly discovered Syriac early version, besides a large recovery of the original Greek, as well as a smaller but considerable fragment of the Armenian, of which the Venetian editors have given a Latin translation, whilst Mr. E. C. Conybeare, of Oxford, has translated the same from another copy into English. The fragment contains the opening chapters. When first published by "the learned Armenians of the Lazarist Monastery at Venice," it was condemned as spurious by M. Renan, chiefly on account of some later amplifications of the text, especially an equivalent to the term *Oecumenos* (for it appears to have been made from the Greek) as signifying of fourth century theology. That term has no equivalent in the Syriac, which was found by the

editors "in a volume of Syriac extracts, preserved in the library of the Convent of St. Catharine," visited by them in 1889. The volume numbered 16 among the Syriac MSS. there, "may be referred to the seventh century," and "is made up of separate treatises, mostly ethical in character." Aristides belongs with Quadratus to the earlier Apologists, whom Justin Martyr, Tatian and others follow. The question of the dates of these earlier two is sifted with great minuteness by the editors. The nett result leaves Quadratus, although with some little doubt, in the period of Hadrian, while Aristides is now concluded to have presented his apology to Antoninus Pius, early in that prince's reign. The belief that the latter also addressed Hadrian seems founded on a mistake arising from the adoption of Antoninus by Hadrian, whose name the former included by custom with his own, thus making him "Titus Ælius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius Augustus Cæsar." In the course of ages and their translations, the latter or distinctive part became lost, until retrieved in the present Syriac version, while that of Hadrian remained. An interesting point raised is that of the contact of Celsus, the Anti-Christian philosopher, with Aristides; and sufficient instances of parallel lines in the attack of Celsus with those traced by Aristides in his apology are adduced, to make that contact probable. Celsus is chiefly known from Origen's work against him. Perhaps the most interesting feature in the Apology is the outline of a creed or *symbolum fidei* deducible from it, which the editors present as follows:

We believe in one God Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, and in Jesus Christ His Son. . . . Born of the Virgin Mary. . . . He was pierced by the Jews: He died and was buried: The third day He rose again: He ascended into Heaven. . . . He is about to come to judge.

Aristides calls himself "a philosopher of Athens," retaining "the philosophic dress with a view to future service in the gospel." But the assumed tone of dispassionate moderation soon drops away and that of the eager advocate appears. A single quotation from Plato's *Timæus* regarding the "impossibility of discovering and presenting to all men the Maker and Father of this universe," (Plato, *Timæus*, 28c.) bespeaks the professional student. The opening section deals with the nature and being of God, --

Who moveth all things. . . . Who made all for the sake of men. . . . without beginning and without end, immortal, complete, and incomprehensible. . . . He is altogether wisdom and understanding. . . . He asks no sacrifice nor libation -- nor anything from anyone, but all ask of Him

The author then distributes the human race into four classes, "Barbarians, Greeks, Jews, and Christians." But only Greek mythology is quoted, viz., Kronos, Rhea, and the rest of their gods for the first of these. The Jewish patriarchal descent and their sojourn in Egypt are next traced. From what follows concerning the Christians the above *Symbolum* is extracted. Some whole sentences are remarkable, -

God came down from Heaven and from a Hebrew virgin took and clad Himself with flesh, and in a daughter of man there dwelt the Son of God.

Belief in the Resurrection after three days and subsequent Ascension is also added. This is taught from that gospel which a little "while ago was spoken among them as being preached." Oral transmission, however, is not now the sole source. "Take now," he later urges, "their writings and read them, and ye will find that not of myself have I brought these things." This reference to standard writings, the elements of a future Canon, is significant. The great bulk of the apology consists in the usual exposure of the gross conceits and degrading traditions of heathenism all round, from Barbarians to Egyptians. To the former is ascribed the worship of "the elements," viz., "earth, air, fire, and water;" of the sun and of ancestors. Among the Greeks all the legends of the Pantheon receive due castigation, as do those of Isis, Osiris, Typhon, and Horus, among the Egyptians, on whom the worship of various animal and vegetable forms is also charged, "they having erred with a great error above all peoples that are upon the face of the earth.

The curiosity attaching to the Greek text, first published by Boussonades at Paris in 1832, and reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia Græca* among the works of St. John of Damascus, lies in the totally new use to which the apology, or a large portion of it, is put. It forms part of a religious romance, named "The Life of SS. Barlaam and Josaphat," which turns upon the young son of a persecuting Indian king, to his father's horror, converted to the faith, and upon a *resurrexio*, by which his apostacy is to be ensured, being overruled by inspiration so as to fortify him, and to convert the heathen father, court, and people into the bargain. The argument, which is made to be thus victorious, follows largely the lines of the apology of Aristides, as shewn in the Syriac version and confirmed, with some exceptions, by the Armenian fragment. The romance is believed to go back to the sixth century, or perhaps earlier still. It has a historical completeness about it which might mislead the unwary into a notion of its containing a fuller measure of genuineness.

Probably the reverse of this would be the more correct inference. Thus, the Christological passage in the Greek says that "(by the Holy Spirit) He came down from heaven (for the salvation of men), born (without generation and incorruptibility)," where the bracketed clauses are wanting in the Syriac. The Greek further adds, "and having fulfilled His marvellous economy, through the Cross he tasted of death, by His own spontaneous design."

It refers also more precisely to "the Holy Scripture called by them (Christians) that of the Gospel." A fuller stress is laid on the mission of the Twelve, "even as one of them journeyed to the regions about us preaching the doctrine of truth." God is "the creator and framer of all things in His only begotten Son and the Holy Spirit," and Christians "have the commandments of the same Lord Jesus Christ engraved on their hearts, waiting for the resurrection of the dead and life of the world to come." The anti-Christian attitude of the Jews is also more expressly brought out, and the singular charge of the Syriac, that "their service is to angels and not to God, in that they observe Sabbaths, etc.," disappears. Interesting parallels are adduced between the "preaching of Peter," of which fragments are preserved by Clement of Alexandria, and our apology, as also between the "Sibylline Oracles" and this latter. Glances of the "Two Ways," as exhibited in the "Teachings of the Apostles," also appear in Aristides. The conclusion suggested by a careful comparison is, that the Greek made too many sacrifices to the standpoint of the romance for it to be taken as correcting the Syriac, while the latter, seeming to miss, as checked by the Armenian, but little of the original, develops exegetical clauses freely, and occasionally mistakes the sense.

HENRY HAYMAN, D.D.

**Life of General de Sonis.** By M<sup>rs</sup>. BAUNARD. Translated by Lady Herbert. London: Art and Book Company. 1892.

WE feel certain that the short work before us will be perused with deep interest by a large number of our readers. It appeals to so many and to such varied sides of life, that it cannot fail to prove attractive to many, who though neither heroes nor soldiers, may yet in other aspects of his life, gather some useful lessons from General de Sonis. In every relation of life the subject of this biography appears to have been admirable. A dutiful son, an affectionate husband and father, a brave soldier submissive as a soldier, and considerate, active and distinguished as a general, an honourable and high minded gentleman, a thoroughly disinterested



man, and above all, a devout Christian and a zealous consistent Catholic : all this to a remarkable extent we find united in General de Sonis. Moreover his life was spent in stirring times and amidst exciting scenes. The son of a soldier and the father of three others, he belonged to a military race in the best sense of the word. The General from an early age showed a marked predilection for his profession ; as a child his favourite walk was in a square where he could watch soldiers at their drill, and his greatest pleasure was being placed in front of his father on horseback, when he would enjoy a gallop amongst the tropical beauties of Guadeloupe, where the regiment was quartered at the time of his birth and during the early years of his life.

After the usual course of education at the military college of St. Cyr, De Sonis was attached to the Fifth Hussars, an appointment which greatly pleased him, as his love for horses made the cavalry especially attractive in his eyes. He shortly after married a lady to whom he was devotedly attached, and who appears from the slight sketch we gather of her in these pages, to have been in no way unworthy of him. Their married life was not without its domestic trials ; they were never rich, and their children were numerous ; and, worse than all, the duties of a soldier's life were for ever forcing this devoted husband and father to leave those he loved so well ; and even when not separated, the constant moves, the frequent up-rooting from each home so soon as they had become attached to it, must have weighed heavily amongst the lesser ills of life. Moreover, even his profession, which he loved devotedly and in which he took so much pride, was not always a source of pure delight. He loved his country and the army enthusiastically, but he loved God and His Church far more ; and although as a soldier he could not question the political movements which the French army was employed to help or to hinder, yet, early in his military career, he had misgivings during the Italian campaign whether in fighting for France he was not fighting against the Holy See. Fortunately, the greater part of his active life was passed in Algeria, and here he could fight without any *arrière pensée*, and it was in the spirit of a true Crusader that he employed his talents both in subjugating and in governing the Arabs. These pages tell of his success in doing both. His skill and alertness were invaluable in the half guerilla warfare of the desert ; and his considerate and honourable treatment of the Arabs under all circumstances caused him to be greatly beloved and respected.

The only considerable war in which France was engaged during his

life, and in which De Soms took no part was the Crimean. During those years he was usefully and actively busy in Algeria. In 1859, as we saw, he fought in the Italian campaign; and in 1870, though not attached to the Army on the Rhine in the early months of the Franco-German war, he was appointed to the command of a division in the Army of the Loire towards its close. Space forbids our dwelling in detail on the tragic history of those melancholy weeks. General de Soms and Colonel de Clarette were intimately associated in this campaign, and were united not only in their military duties, but were completely in sympathy in the religious spirit with which both fought. The disastrous fate of the French troops in the last months of 1870 are a matter of history; nor did De Soms escape his full share of suffering and anguish. All but fatally wounded in an engagement near Longny, on December 2nd, he lay the whole of a freezing cold night on the ground unaided and alone. Snow fell heavily, his leg broken in five-and-twenty places, would, in the course of nature, have caused him unspeakable pain; the cold and thirst were well nigh unbearable; and yet, he seems to have been favoured with supernatural consolations which may be said to have extinguished his bodily pain. His confessors tell us: "During that night the Blessed Virgin showed him extraordinary favours and filled him with ineffable consolations. His crushed limb, the freezing of the other parts, all the horrors of that fearful night, and his terrible sufferings, disappeared before that presence." "I only began to suffer again," he said, "when men tried to help me."

The results of this night were, however, irreparable. His leg was amputated on the following day, and gangrene having attacked the other foot, it was only at the expense of weeks of intense suffering that he did not lose this also. His recovery was slow and the latter years of his life were full of suffering; yet, to near the end, he still managed to mount his charger and lead his troops. No wounds or pain could quench his military zeal, and he remained in the service until the Government, after many irreligious and un-Catholic demonstrations, at length gave the fatal commands for the repression of the religious orders, commands which were to be enforced, when necessary, by the sword. Rather than be the unwilling instrument of so great a sacrifice, General de Soms retired from active service, and spent the remaining few years of his life at Passy, near Paris. His days were already numbered, and his death was a fitting sequel to his whole life. Indeed his end was so saint-like that many of his friends looked on his visit to him at this time as the light of a pilgrimage to some shrine, and here in August 1887, he died the death of the just.

We feel that we have dwelt inadequately on the great spiritual beauty of the life before us—the constant devotion to God and His Church, the close union of the brave soldier with his Redeemer, but our space is limited, and we must beg our readers to study for themselves this living proof that all holiness is not confined to the cloister, and that in the French army of the nineteenth century a true saint and a devout hero may find his vocation. The book is dedicated, not unfitly, to General Lord Ralph Kerr, at whose instance it was translated into English.

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**Ireland and St. Patrick.** By WILLIAM BULLEN MORRIS, of the Oratory. London: Burns & Oates.

FATHER MORRIS has given us a delightful book. It appears opportunely, too, on the recurrence of the fourteen hundredth anniversary of the death of St. Patrick. Fourteen long centuries have rolled by since, in the words of the old chronicler the men of Erin mourned for Patrick, and turned night into day by the innumerable tapers at his funeral obsequies. The period is certainly long enough to estimate the value and durability of his work, and Father Morris's previous study in Patrician literature renders him well fitted for the task. He approaches it too as a Catholic writing for Catholics, and though outsiders may deem this an obstacle to the calm impartial treatment of the subject, yet the possession of the Catholic Faith is in reality an essential requisite for its adequate treatment. One who does not share in the faith of the Irish people can never write in that spirit of living sympathy with their religion which the nature of this work demands.

A non-Catholic writer might write in a spirit of the strictest historical fairness. He may display an unbounded veneration for the many excellent qualities of the Irish character. He may demonstrate from the treatment of Ireland in the past by her more powerful neighbour, that the faults of the Irish are solely the result of the barbarous legislation of that period. He may do all this in a manner to convince even the most sceptical, yet his work will lack that indescribable charm, which the pages of a Catholic writer, if he be equal to his task, are sure to contain. It seems a paradox to say that it requires a Catholic to portray the character of a saint, or to gauge the permanent worth of his labours. We are far from saying on the other hand that every book on subjects such as this written by a Catholic possesses this value,—there are many which do not. *Father Morris's book does.*

The materials for the history of Ireland, both ecclesiastical and civil, have been rapidly accumulating of late. The careful translations of the Rolls series have placed within reach of all a mass of priceless material. The higher historical criticism, too, and judicial fairness are beginning at last to be generally recognised in Ireland, and the country is ceasing to be disgraced by those so-called "Histories of Ireland," which even at best were nothing better than bulky party pamphlets. Ireland has not yet seen its Lingard. He will be the production of the future Irish Catholic University, and will appear at the proper time. Books like that of Father Morris will facilitate his task.

We have one serious quarrel with Father Morris. He has made St. Patrick a Frenchman. This is not the place to enter on a historical disquisition on the birth place of our Saint. The question is needlessly complicated by some writers assigning various places on the most fanciful grounds as the region in which St. Patrick first saw the light. One writer from whom we might expect better things assigns the south west of England as the Saint's birth place. The clear weight of intrinsic evidence in our opinion uncontestedly points to Strathelyde as being the Saint's native soil. The extrinsic evidence for this opinion is simple overwhelming. We are not forgetting, however, that the question is an open one very much so - and that Father Morris has his right to his opinion as we have to ours, but we could not pass by what we think to be nothing better than downright flat historical heresy without girding away at it to the best of our power.

Passing over this one debatable question, on which agreement can not be had for a long time yet we fear, we hasten to say that with the rest of Father Morris's book we are in complete accord. The lengthy chapter on the Bull of Pope Adrian shows signs of great power and will well repay careful perusal. Father Morris strikes with no sword of lath, and he would be a bold man who could now maintain the authenticity of Adrian's Bull.

The three concluding essays are valuable for the historical information they convey as well as for the charm of their literary excellence. Occasionally they flash out into real eloquence, and it is these we think which will render the book popular in Ireland.

Anything relating to St. Patrick appeals to the Irish hearts. He lives enshrined for ever in the affections of the people. He is not so much a great saint and a great hero of the past, as a living, actual power of the present. He looms largely and clearly before the popular imagination. The character of the Irish for centuries has



been moulded on his teaching and example. There are few families in Ireland in which a child is not called Patrick. The popular form of salutation to this day in the Irish speaking portions of the country is "God and Mary and also Patrick be with you." Our own St. Augustine, whatever may have been the state of things before the reigns of Henry and Elizabeth, is certainly not in our days, (if we may reverently say so,) the same thing in the feelings of English Catholics that St. Patrick is in those of the Irish. Why it should be so we know not. Father Morris has given us some reasons for the Irish side of the question. We heartily recommend the book. The paper, type, and binding are all that could be desired.

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**Ballads and Lyrics.** By KATHERINE TYNAN.

THE gifted authoress of this little book of poems, disarms criticism from the very outset, by the quaint and graceful "Apologia" with which she prefaces the work. We are not inclined to pass severe strictures on what is professedly simple and unpretentious. There is a good deal of poetry written nowadays, which although very pretentious, is vague, misty, and insipid to such a degree, that one may truly say that there is nothing in it. Poetry which has nothing in it should not be written, or, at all events, not inflicted on the public.

The volume of poetry before us is beautified by a vein of religious sentiment. It contains bright original conceptions and real poetical ideas, expressed with a certain amount of charm. Here and there we find too much rich imagery, too much gold and roses. There are pretty legends among the poems. But the mermaid with a soul is a legend which draws too largely on our imagination. Some of the rhythm is very pleasing, as, for instance, "The Blackbird" (a new song with an old burden), but in other poems the perfection of the rhythm is not always equally maintained. The volume is elegantly got up and would be an appropriate gift-book.

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**Meditations on the Life of our Lord for every day in the year.** By the late Rev. J. NOLET S.J. 2 vols. Dublin: Browne & Nolan.

THE writer of this review had in his possession some thirty years ago three volumes of this work, then published in four volumes but now reprinted in two, and applied but in vain for the fourth: to his disappointment it was out of print. This is now no longer the

case, and he welcomes this sixth and new edition. Father Nouet excels as a compiler of Meditations ; he does not exhaust the subject of meditation so as to leave nothing for the reader to do, but places before him sufficient matter upon which his intellect may dwell with profit. He points out the sentiments and affections which would flow from such reflexions, and without any pressure suggest practices to which such affections not unnaturally lead. Such a method is a great help to the many who find a difficulty in Meditation, and whose memory, mind and will are slow to act, while the few who have made sufficient progress in mental prayer to be able to exercise their faculties without any external guidance will find the fullest scope for them in the abundance of correct and solid matter to be found in each separate Meditation. These two volumes then appeal, and not without effect, to the intelligence, and are at the same time eminently devotional, affective and practical.

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**Bishop Wilberforce.** By G. W. DANIELL, M.A. London : Methuen & Co. 1891.

THIS volume forms one of a new series of small books entitled "English Leaders of Religious Thought," which comprises short biographies of men differing from one another as widely as did Wesley, Maurice, and Chalmers from Cardinal Newman, a thoughtful sketch of whose character, from the pen of Mr. Hutton, preceded their lives in this issue.

It is difficult for a Catholic to form a correct estimate of the work before us, he, naturally, being entirely unable to view it from the standpoint from which it is written, and differing from the author not alone on first principles, but on the very ground from which he considers Bishop Wilberforce's life and sympathises with his work and efforts. A former and enthusiastic biographer, Dean Burgon, describes Samuel Wilberforce "as the remodeller of the episcopate," and it is Mr. Daniell's aim "to present his life, work, character, and influence mainly from the point of view thus suggested." But to us, to whom the Anglican episcopate is a mere name for the leading officials of a schismatical communion and a useful branch of the public service, the attempt to convert such officers into shepherds of the Christian flock and descendants of the Apostles appears to be a mere waste of time, energy, and zeal. No doubt we can welcome the elevation of their motives, and the higher view of their work with which an earnest mind can imbue those under his con-

trol and influence, and with which Dr. Wilberforce, for one, tried to stamp his clergy ; yet, in these pages we feel that our sympathy is asked for much that is marked with the inherent hollowness and unreality of Anglicanism, and that his efforts to infuse life and apostolicity in the bench of English bishops, were as futile as his claims to Catholicity, for the Establishment of which we do not deny that he was an ornament.

The common accusation against the Church of England made both by ultra-Protestants and by the Catholic Church is this, that she does not know her own mind even on fundamental questions of the Faith; that she temporises where she ought to stand firm ; that she attempts to allow, and even succeeds in allowing, absolutely contradictory and hostile doctrines to be equally taught with her approval : and we are disposed to think that Dr. Wilberforce's success in itself forms a fatal testimony to the truth of this accusation. The highest praise that his biographer gives him is that he was so skilful in manipulating difficult questions, so conciliatory to those of completely different views, so full of tact in reconciling men to accede to much from which they conscientiously dissented, that the ever-threatened and dreaded disruption of parties within the Establishment was postponed. In fact, that it was he more than any other man who was the binding force which prevented the bundle of loose faggots from following their natural bent, and falling asunder.

From an Anglican point of view this may be praise ; but we doubt whether Christianity of the type represented by Samuel Wilberforce could have subdued the world as the Catholic Church has subdued it, or whether we can find any likeness to such a shepherd in the Apostolic College. We are told that both Protestants and so-called Anglo-Catholics exist, and were meant to exist within the Church of England, and that Dr. Wilberforce considered he was bound to do justice to both. If such indeed is the duty of an Anglican bishop, we may, perhaps, admire the skill with which he compromises between direct opposites, though we fear it must be at the expense of the sincerity and conscientiousness of the man himself. Indeed, we feel that the more the life before us is studied, the more we shall find that the highest praise we can bestow on Samuel Wilberforce is, that he was a remarkable specimen of a useful type that of a successful chairman of public meetings. We have, of course, no wish to disparage his private piety; yet, as a public character, the popular estimate of him as a man above all anxious to smooth things over and to reconcile the irreconcilable, even at the expense of truth, is confirmed in this volume.

Added to the above estimate, we have to deplore in Dr. Wilberforce a bitter hatred of the Catholic Church, which loses no opportunity of exhibiting itself in violent language. Indeed, in his anxiety to appear in the popular character of an anti-popery ecclesiastic, he sometimes writes almost incoherently. What, for example, can be the meaning of this remark, which follows an opinion that the value for and the importance of prayer have risen in the Anglican communion: "With far less tendency to the corruptions of Rome, we have put forth more abundantly at home the blessed shoots of a loving charity?" (p. 110). However, it is Mr. Daniell's expressed opinion that the conversions to the faith in Dr. Wilberforce's family were detrimental to his own advancement in the Establishment. If he himself judged this to be the case, it may explain the hostility of his attitude towards the truth. An ambitious man thus thwarted would be likely to be embittered, and his language may thus be accounted for, although it cannot be excused or condoned.

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**Die Sentenzen Rolands.** Nachmals Papstes Alexander III.  
Zum ersten Mal herausgegeben von P. AMBROSIUS GIETL, O.P.  
Freiburg : Herder. 1891.

**F** DENIFLE, the learned sub-archivist of the Holy See, who enjoys a world-wide reputation through his History of the Universities during the Middle Ages, and is still more establishing his fame by the "Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis," the second volume of which has just made its appearance, was fortunate enough to detect in a codex of the public archives of Nürnberg the above manuscript. The edition is entirely the work of his able disciple, F. Gietl, O.P. of Graz, in Austria.

The *sententie* of Roland Bandinelli, at first Professor of Theology in the University of Bologna, afterwards Cardinal and Chancellor of the Holy See, but best known as the great Pope Alexander III., belong to that class of mediæval "Summae" out of which have grown the wonderful systems of St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure. In a pithy preface the editor enlarges on several questions relating to the *sententie*. Above all he fully establishes the authorship of Rolandus, whose "Summa" of Canon law was established by Professor Thaner Insbruck, and then goes on to scrutinize the contents and the position which the work occupies in mediæval theology. Let us point out that the "*Sententiæ Rolandi Bononiensis magistri*" are made up of three parts, treating of Faith, the Sacraments



and Charity. Most remarkable is the treatise on the Sacraments, and chiefly that part which is occupied with canonical impediments. Rolandus firmly defends the opinion which traces the origin of matrimony in every case to the consent of the contracting parties. A mere superficial view taken of the *Sententiar* shows them to be incomplete, inasmuch as the concluding treatise on the last things is wanting. On the other hand it is to be remarked that some questions are exhaustively discussed, and seem to become in Rolandus' hands an antidote against current heresies. Special mention is deserved by the manner in which he teaches most exactly the real presence in the holy Eucharist. Students of mediæval theology will easily detect a kind of similitude between Rolandus and Abaelard. F. Gietl has spared no labour in bringing fresh light to bear upon this vexed question, and his critical notes will amply repay attentive perusal. The result is that although Rolandus is not seldom dependent on Abaelard, yet in questions of far-reaching importance he totally dissents from him. The admirable way in which F. Gietl has discharged his task enables us to form a very favourable idea of the scholastics in the middle ages, and the labour spent by them in elucidating the most weighty problems which still interest men's minds.

BELLESHEIM.

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**The Wisdom and Wit of Blessed Thomas More.** Collected and edited by Rev. T. E. BRIDGETT, C.S.S.R. London: Burns & Oates, 1892.

ENGLISH-speaking Catholics are once more laid under an obligation to Father Bridgett for a valuable work. The present is meant as a companion volume to his "Life of Blessed Thomas More" published last year, and as an instalment to hasten the reprint of Blessed More's complete works. But even when that publication appears, this collection of choice things will still be useful. There are many who laugh at the idea of presenting an author piecemeal, and of reading him in "rags and tags," of feeding upon dainty morsels; but these critics seem to assume that people who use such books never do any more continuous reading. They seem to forget too that in the present multiplication of books it is well-nigh impossible for most men to read all that they would desire. Where is the folly then in a man taking consideration of this want of time of his fellows, and reverently gathering and arranging choice extracts from the works of a voluminous author to show them his beauty, any more than in plucking a few flowers as specimens of the

wealth and colour of a garden? Besides, such a work as the present, in which the extracts are classed under the different headings of – “Ascetic; Dogmatic; Illustrative of the Period; Fancies, Sports, and Merry Tales; Colloquial and Quaint Phrases,”—supplies us with a handy book of reference to the opinions of a great man upon the “subjects of the day,”—his day as well as our own.

To the extracts Father Bridgett has prefixed an essay on the Wisdom and Wit of Blessed More; in which, after laying down that wisdom is a true and deep knowledge of the nature and purpose of human life, and a penetration of the truths of faith, he shows how this wisdom was reduced to practice by Blessed Thomas in his daily life. In the second part of this introductory chapter, the compiler lovingly describes “the strange yet beautiful mixture of joyousness and seriousness” in the life of the martyr; at the same time warning us that “we must not think of him for a moment as a jocose man, a jester, or a punster.” His wit was not the result of frivolity, but was rather, and especially on the subject of religion, the outcome of his shrewd perception, which enabled him to see the hollowness and absurdity of error, and to unmask it to others. This, says Father Bridgett, is a temper which could be helpful nowadays to us, who are obliged to mix largely with unbelievers and misbelievers. He calls it arriving at the age of disdain, and thus describes it:—

The *age of disdain* is when we get a little knowledge of the world, the insight into human character, the sarcastic spirit of Blessed Thomas More.

Blessed Thomas excuses himself as follows for bringing in, among the most earnest matters, fancies, sports, and merry tales:—

One that is a layman, as I am, it may haply become him merrily to tell his mind, than seriously and solemnly to preach.

As a short specimen of his style we may instance the following short extract describing Scrupulosity:—

Pusillanimity bringeth forth a very timorous daughter, a silly wretched girl, and ever puling, that is called Scrupulosity . . . This girl is a meetly good puzzle in a house, never idle, but ever occupied and busy; but albeit she have a gentle mistress that loveth her well, and is well content with what she doth . . . yet can this peevish girl never cease whining and puling for fear lest her mistress be always angry with her.

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*The State Last : A Study of Dr. Bouquillon's Pamphlet. Education : To Whom Does it Belong?* With Supplement. By Rev. James Conway, S.J. Fr. Pustet & Co., New York. pp. 116.

*Geschichte der Religion.* Vols. 1 and 2. By W. Wilmers, S.J. Druck & Verlag, Münster.

*Green Tea : A Love Story.* V. Schallenger. London, T. Fisher Unwin. 1s. 6d.

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*Seeking a City.* By Maggie Symington. Cassell & Co. Limited, London. 1s. 6d.

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*The Leading Ideas of the Gospel.* By William Alexander, D.D., D.C.L. London : Macmillan & Co.

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*Political Economy.* By Charles S. Devas. London : Longmans, Green, & Co. 6s. 6d.

- The Browning Cyclopaedia.* A Guide to the Study of the Works of Robert Browning. By Edward Berdoe. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.
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- Secret Service under Pitt.* By W. J. Fitzpatrick, F.S.A. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 14s.
- Social Statics, Abridged and Revised; together with the Man versus the State.* By Herbert Spencer. Williams and Norgate, London.
- The Relations of the Church to Society.* Theological Essays by Edmund J. O'Reilly, S.J. Edited, with a biographical notice, by Matthew Russell, S.J. John Hodges, London, 12s.
- History of the Jews, from the earliest times to the present day.* By Professor H. Graetz. Edited by Bella Löwry. Vols. IV. and V. London: David Nutt.
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- Visits to the Holy Sacraments of the Altar.* From the German by Rev. Augustine McClory, O.S.F. Mr. B. Herder, Freiburg. 1s. 3d.
- The Offices of Holy Week.* Art and Book Co., Leamington. 1s.
- Moments before the Tabernacle.* By Rev. Matthew Russell, S.J. Burns & Oates Ltd., London.
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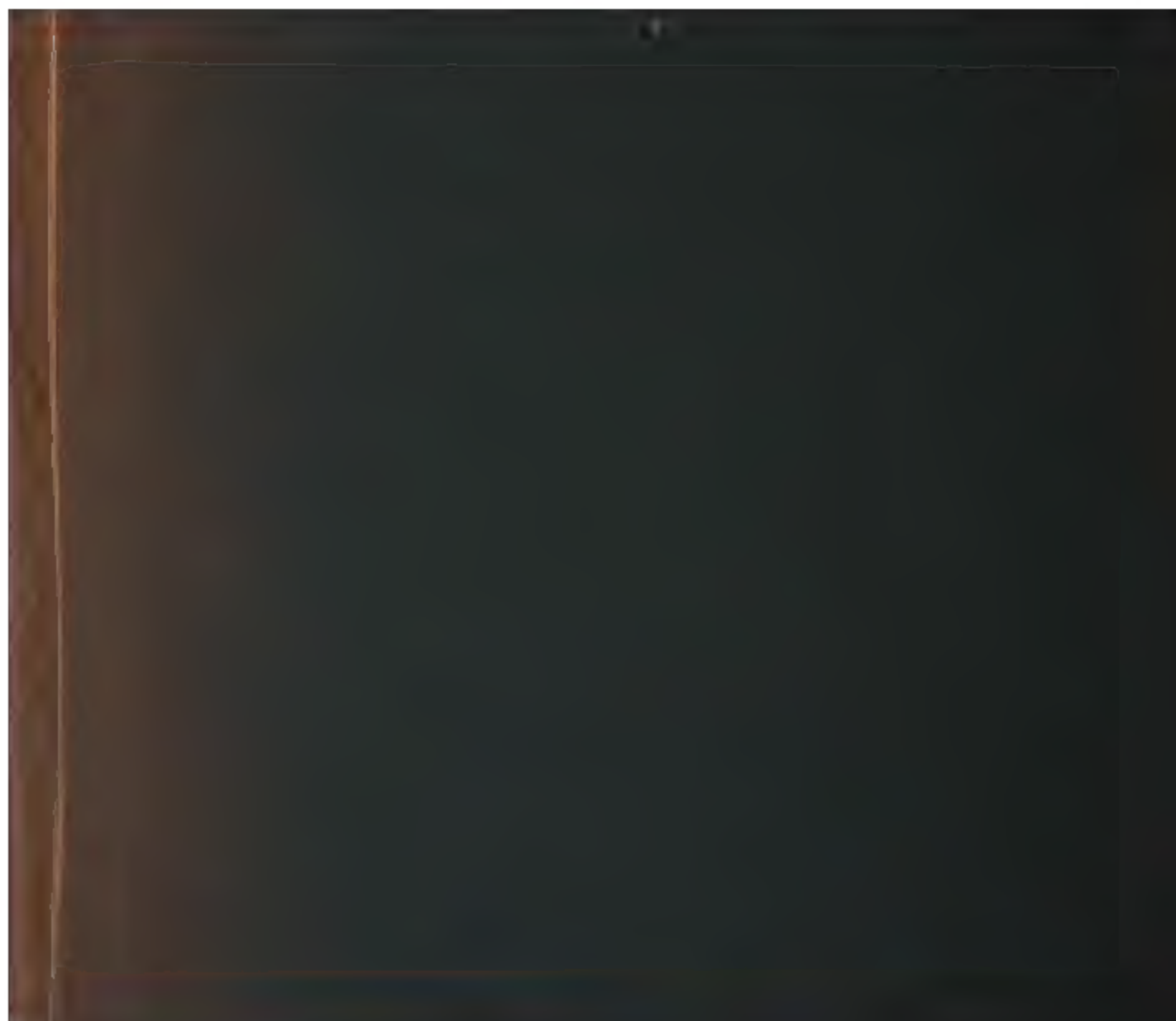
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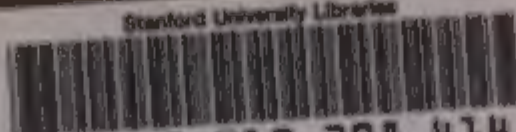








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